

# BOWDOIN COLLEGE

**Professor Potholm**

**Government 1028**

**Women at War: The Daughters of Mars**

**Fall, 2017**



20 year old Soviet sniper Roza Shanina, credited with 54 kills  
of German soldiers during World War II

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## **The Daughters of Mars: Women Warriors**

Any study of women at war through the ages must immediately start with the cogent judgment of Russian General Vasily Ivanovich Chuikov of the 62<sup>nd</sup> Soviet Army who, after the desperate struggle for Stalingrad during World War II, stated categorically, “Women soldiers proved themselves to be just as heroic in the days of fighting as men.”

Regardless of how limited the participation of women in and leading armies has been throughout the course of human history, there is seemingly no *a priori* reason why they cannot be soldiers and warriors – and good ones at that – regardless of their sex. Myriads of women have already proven this, starting in pre-classical times and continuing to the present.

There are – and have always been – many cultural, physical, military, and sexual arguments used by and in many different societies to oppose the participation of women in war and especially in combat. Many of these may have been good reasons in particular cultures but, on balance, none seem sufficient to refute the fact that women have been and can continue to be successful in battle. We will be examining many throughout much of the temporal and geographic range of war.

At the end of the day, if we were looking at women in war strictly in terms of the Template of Mars, it would be difficult to argue with the notion of Dominique Lozzi that “Mars does not look at war through a male-centered lens, and therefore, neither should we.” From warrior queens to admirals and generals to individual soldiers, women have been in combat as active participants across vast reaches of time, space and society. We shall look at women as military leaders and as military followers;

playing strategic roles as well as tactical ones; making combat decisions from afar as well as in the midst of the actual battle itself.

Of course, looking at combat through a strictly female-centric lens would likewise be incomplete, for it must be said at the outset of this study that “there is combat and then there is combat.” It seems obvious, for example, that all women (and all men) may not be suitable for ALL roles in ALL forms of combat. We will examine the dimensions of these highly freighted subjects and their offshoots by looking at various proponents of a wide variety of views on the subject.

This course then seeks to put “The Daughters of Mars: Women Warriors” in their myriad of governmental, historical and warfare perspectives in order to allow the interested student access to the considerable historical literature which is of relevance to these and related questions. As we do, we will be challenging the various boundaries between military and gender history. In the process we hope to expose students to the nature and typologies of warfare in a variety of cultures, from the steppe warfare of Eurasia through classical Greece and Rome, Samurai Japan, 19<sup>th</sup> century Africa, World War II, Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan.

Note: We are using the phrase “Daughters of Mars” very differently than other recent writers who have employed it to describe such disparate cohorts as “Army Officer Wives” (Anni Baker, “Daughters of Mars: Army Officers’ Wives and Military Culture on the American Frontier,” Historian, Vol. 67, No. 1 (Spring 2005), pp. 20-42) and as “Nurses” (in the recent novel by Thomas Keneally, Daughters of Mars (New York: Atria Books, 2013)). In this Bowdoin Government Department course, our “Daughters of Mars” construct parallels that of the “Sons of Mars” as the Romans liked to think of themselves due to two of the many offspring (divine, human and monster) of Mars: Romulus and

Remus, the mythical founders of Rome. Our “Daughters of Mars” are not culturally or nationally limited however, and includes individual warriors, leaders of small cohorts, fleets and armies as well as powerful women whose strategic imperatives won wars.

They are simply warriors.

In this course we will also be looking at women as leaders and participants in actual warfare (tactically as well as strategically) as well as women playing more strategic military leadership roles, for each places females into the heart of what is often thought of as a purely male sphere of activity. We shall also be looking at how various wars reduce or enhance the freedom of women in a variety of cultures. In the process we shall be examining the important dimensions of war *qua* war.

## **Goals of the Course**

- (1) Improve your writing proficiency
- (2) Develop/enhance your research skills
- (3) Improve your communications skills  
(small groups)
- (4) Develop/enhance your presentation skills
- (5) Gain knowledge of warfare as it has occurred throughout the ages in a variety of cultures
- (6) Gain knowledge of women in war throughout the ages
- (7) Seek commonalities for societal, governmental and cultural promotion of, and prohibitions against, women warriors
- (8) Gain an appreciation about how complicated war really is and how both cultural determinants AND the Template of Mars drive so much of humankind and its relationship with war.
- (9) Look at war through the eyes of some significant women warriors

## **Daughters of Mars Quotations**

“The jihadists don’t like fighting women, because if they’re killed  
by a female, they think they won’t go to heaven.”

PKK Female Guerilla, Wall Street Journal

“Could women fly? Well for me, I’ve never gotten into an aircraft  
yet that has asked me what sex I was. If you knew how to fly – you  
flew. It was a simple as that.”

Byrd Howell Granger, Women of Courage

“And Penthesilea leading her Amazons bearing half-moon shields-  
she blazes with battle fury out in front of her army,  
Cinching a gold breastband under her bared breasts,  
A girl, a warrior queen who dares to battle men.”

Virgil, The Aeneid

“A rosy-cheeked woman, here I am fighting side by side with you  
men. The prison is my school, the sword my child, the gun my  
husband.”

Nguyen Thi Minh Khai, Every Women Must Fight

“What has to do with war must be assigned to women also and  
they must be used in the same ways.”

Plato, The Republic

“Tis no less unbecoming in a Woman...to conduct an Army, to  
give a Signal to the Battles, than it is for a Man to tease Wool, to  
handle the Distaff...”

Georg Buchanan, History of Scotland, 1571

“The dreaded Penthesileia eager for battle....So she dressed herself  
in armor beautifully wrought. She shone like a flash of lightning

shot from Olympus....Penthesileia killed Molion, Persinoos,  
Eilissos, and Antitheos and valiant Lernos.”

Quintus of Smyrna, The Trojan Epic: Posthomerica

“It can be argued that women need heroines even more than men  
need heroes, because their expectations of independence, fortitude  
and valour have generally speaking been so much lower.”

Antonia Fraser, The Warrior Queens

“The great searchlight of war showed things in their true light and  
they gave us enfranchisement with open hands.”

Millicent Garrett Fawcett, 1918

“If once these women get a semblance of a start,  
Before we know, they’ll be adept at every manly art.  
They’ll turn their hands to building ships,  
And then they’ll make a bid  
To fight our fleet and ram us, just like Artemisia did.”

Aristophanes, Lysistrata

“We can never again imagine war as only men’s work.”  
Lynn Hunt, quoted Women, Armies and Warfare in Early Modern  
Europe

“To be denied the warrior legacy undermines the grandeur of  
virtue.”

David Jones, Women Warriors

“At last my dreams have come true! I am a warrior! I am in the  
Polish Horse, I bear arms and moreover, Fortune has placed me in  
one of the bravest regiments of our army!”

Nadezhda Durova, The Cavalry Woman

“I swear by the sun that I will quench your thirst for blood.”

Tomyris of Massagetae to Cyrus the Great before cutting off his head and shoving it into a wineskin filled with blood.

Sarah Beam, The History of the Ancient World

“Be prepared, as it is a time and effort consuming field that requires a great deal of passion.”

Major Mariam Al Mansouri who led the United Arab Emirates (dubbed “Little Sparta”) air attack on ISIS targets in Syria.

September, 2014, New York Times

“You hack everything down in battle....God of War, with your fierce wings.”

Enheduanna, Lament to the Spirit of War

Note: Enheduanna was the Sumerian/Akkadian chief priestess during the reign of Sargon the Great (2285-2275 BCE) and the first credited author in history.

“We are women unmastered by men, yet hemmed on all quarters by those who would inflict this wretched state upon us. Do you wonder at our ferocity?”

Stephen Pressfield, The Last of the Amazons

“Feminist theory alone cannot, however, provide a convincing case for feminist pacifism.”

Jennifer Turpin, “Should Women Be Soldiers or Pacifists?”

“We have won. The blood flows, it flows, it flows. The blood flows, the enemy is no more.”

Amazon song of victory, Dahomey’s Women Warriors

“We cannot live among your women because we have different customs. We live to shoot arrows, throw javelins, and ride horses, and have no knowledge of women’s chores.”

Amazon woman quoted in Herodotus, The Histories



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## Course Schedule

August 30

**Introduction: “Why Study Women Warriors and Women at War?”**

September 4

**Why Not Send Women to War? A Brief Historical Overview**

**Formation of Teams:**

- (1) The Sarmatians and Scythians (S)**
- (2) The Warrior Queens (WQ)**
- (3) The Amazons (A)**
- (4) The Night Witches (NW)**

### **Required Reading:**

Margaret Higonnet and Patrice Higonnet, “The Double Helix” in Margaret Higonnet *et. al.* (eds.) Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 31-47.

Drew Lindsay, “Why Not Send Women to War?” MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Spring 1913), pp. 50-61.

Christian Potholm, “Introduction: The Template of Mars” in his Winning at War (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2010), pp. 27.

### **Recommended Reading:**

Christian Potholm, “Why Study Military Matters?” in his Understanding War (Lanham: University Press of America), pp. 3-14. This reference work is designed to assist students as they

research topics related to war. There are two hard copies in the Library for use in this course. It is also available online in PDF form on Bowdoin's e-reserves. This should be your FIRST, BUT NOT YOUR LAST, research stop with regard to books on a particular subject.

**Study Questions: Lindsay, "Why Not Send Women to War?"**

1. Discuss the role of the Soviet 1077<sup>th</sup> Anti-Aircraft Regiment during the Battle of Moscow.
2. Describe the situations which led to the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the U.S. drafting hundreds of thousands of women into the armed forces.
3. How is being in an anti-aircraft unit not being in combat?
4. Discuss the career of Lyudmila Pavlichenko, the Soviet sniper with 300 kills.
5. Currently Israel, China, North Korea and Taiwan draft women for the military. Why? Is drafting preferable to voluntary enlistment? Why or why not?
6. Analyze the statement of Hector in Homer's Iliad, "War is men's business" in light of today's realities in the U.S. armed forces.
7. Who were "The Night Witches" and why were they so feared by the Germans?
8. Choose one of the "Women who turned into Men" described on pages 56-57 and explore one in greater depth. Have you studied any of these Daughters of Mars before in high school?

9. Did you know any of them existed? If so, which ones? Which, if any, would be of interest to you to study this semester? Are there others not listed in the article?

10. In The Peloponnesian War, Thucydides, in commenting on the revolution in Corcyra (today Corfu) describes women fighting “with a courage beyond their sex.” What is he implying and how is it relevant for our semester’s focus?

### **Study Questions: Higonnet and Higonnet, “The Double Helix”**

1. When is “change not change” according to the authors?
2. How does war change the roles and places of women without altering the gender hierarchy which subordinates women to men whether in peace or war?
3. How are women often viewed as “other”?
4. How does “the double helix” permit us to trace the gender hierarchy from peace to war and back again to peace?

Note: Please make sure you fully understand this concept as it will be a key to understanding the worlds of the various Amazons (either real or imaginary), especially those which lie outside the reach of the traditional gender hierarchies as well as more traditional societies. We will also find the double helix construct most useful in looking at revolutionary as well as non-revolutionary societies and governments at war.

5. How do the authors think women can overcome these “structural continuities”?

6. Why is the polyphony of historical experience of use to women and men in general and to us in particular in this course?
7. How can this polyphony pivot us in other directions?

### **Study Questions: Potholm, “The Template of Mars”**

1. What are the seven characteristics which bring success in war?
2. Which are new to you?
3. Which are familiar?
4. How are they related?
5. Are any of the elements such that women commanders – as opposed to male commanders – could NOT employ them? Think about the strategic imperatives shown by Catherine the Great of Russia, Isabella I of Spain, Amina of Hausaland, and Mmanthatsi of the Sotho, etc.
6. How is the Template of Mars gender-neutral?

**September 6**

### **Ancient Echoes: From Amazonia and Beyond**

“The Amazon archetype appears to be highly mutable, and easily interpreted according to the whims of subjective taste...She was objectified as fearful and repellent, glamorous and appealing, a destructive and negative role model, or one that was ideal and suitable for all young girls. For many, the Amazon was a fascination, a fixation, a flirtation, to hate or to admire.”

Jessica Amanda Salmonson, The Encyclopedia of Amazons

From earliest Greek historians and culture come stories of women warriors. We need to look at this important period for not only the myths and legends of women warriors (and the projection of Greek and Roman male psyches onto the stories of their existence (persisting until today), but the actual basis in fact for some of those mythic projections. We also explore the dimensions of the Amazonian traditions that are of relevance today.

The stories of the Amazons, Scythians and Samaritans from what is now the Ukraine appear in a number of ancient sources. In Virgil's The Aeneid for example, Penthesilea (Pen Thu Sill Ee Uh), queen of the Amazons and daughter of Ares (Mars) and Otrere, comes to Troy to aid the Trojans. She is a "Maiden who dares to run with men" and she kills many Greeks until she herself is killed by Achilles, the most formidable of all Greek warriors. Note the honor paid to her because she, as Hector, the mightiest of the Trojan warriors, had to be killed by Achilles, himself the supreme male warrior of the day. Her death is also greatly mourned by Ares himself.

Other ancient writers term them as "great riders" (Pindar), "man-hating" (Aeschylus), "manslayers" (Herodotus) and "worshippers of Ares" (Apollonius of Rhodes), "the first people to ride horses" (Lysias), "Queen Thalestris and Alexander" (Plutarch). In Virgil, The Aeneid (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1910), Chapter 11, pp. 799-831, the Warrior Queen Camilla of the Volsci is killed by Arruns, a Trojan ally.

Note: The perceived threat to men posed by female warriors often takes the form of sexual assumptions: Amazons are either lesbians (and don't need men) or insatiable, lustful, man-devouring creatures and this dimension of the archetype persists throughout history, taking many forms, as stories that Catherine the Great not only had many, many lovers but died when copulating with a

horse, or Amina of Hausaland who took to her bed every night a new young man and then had him killed the next morning. Look at contemporary culture to find continuing vestiges of this archetype. And therefore understand how truly fragile is the male psyche in this regard.

In real life, women horse archers existed in a number of societies over a 1000 year period and in a broad 4000 mile arc from the Don Basin to China including the territories along the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov, the Caucasus Mountains, the Caspian Sea and the broad flowing steppes to northwest China.



*Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons*  
Wood engraving. 1892 print.

### **Required Reading:**

Adrienne Mayor and Josiah Ober, “Amazons,” MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Summer 1991), pp. 68-77. This very readable article is based largely upon Mayor’s fine study The Amazons: Lives and Legends of Warrior Women Across the Ancient World reviewed below under recommended reading.

### **Recommended Reading:**

R. Brzezinski and M. Mielczarek, The Sarmatians: 600 BC-AD 450 (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2002). Note that page 25 features a picture of a Sarmatian female warrior from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. There is great detail in this work covering the wide variety of groups known as the Sarmatians, most likely originating in the Don River region of the Ukraine.

Adrienne Mayor, The Amazons: Lives and Legends of Warrior Women Across the Ancient World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014). Holistic, scholarly, very well-illustrated, over-arching and multidisciplinary, this is the work on Amazons which must be consulted by those doing any research on this fascinating subject. Both the realities and the myths are breathtaking and the author ends up writing the thus-far definitive work on Amazonian phenomena. Most illuminating is her close examination of the 1000 years of history across 4000 miles of geography from the Don Basin to China, concluding, “Between Greece and China stretched the vast homeland of nomadic horsewomen archers, the equals of men, whose heroic lives and deeds inspired awe, fear, respect, and desire in all who knew them.”



Note: For a dissenting view, see Eleni Boliak's review of Mayor, The Amazons in the Bryn Mawr Classical Review (2015), p. 17. (on reserve)

Tim Newark, Women Warlords (London: Blandford, 1989), especially "The True Amazons: Amazons of the Ancient Worlds," pp. 9-30.

Potholm, "The Horsemen Cometh," Understanding War, pp. 309-366.

Si Sheppard, "Penthesilea Queen of the Amazons," in his Troy: Last War of the Heroic Age (Oxford: Osprey, 2014), pp. 57-61. Legend has Penthesilea (daughter of Ares/Mars and Oterera (O tree ra) Queen of the Amazons) slain by Achilles after coming to the aid of Troy.

Quintus of Smyrna, "Book One: Penthesilea" in his The Trojan Epic Posthomerica, trans. Alan James (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 3-14. The daughter of Ares (Latin: Mars) slays many Greeks and in turn is killed by Achilles in this tale written 1000 years after Homer's Iliad and Odyssey.



Above: Death of Penthesilea at the hands of Achilles after the killing of Hector and her killing of many Greeks in battle. Amphora ca 535.

Note: The persistence of this archetype of the woman warrior who is feminine but possesses “fury-like” power can be traced across many cultures up until the present. See, for example, Laudomia Bonanni, *The Reprisal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013) (F) and her heroine “La Rossa,” the red haired revolutionary fighting in World War II.

Note: The Czech composer Bedrich Smetana in his celebrated orchestral work “Ma Vlast” (“My Homeland”) devotes a movement in it to the legendary Bohemia Amazon warrior **Sharka** (“Women had become so accustomed to directing affairs that they refused to submit to the rule of men again”), but in most other Amazon archetypal stories, they are eventually overcome. Do the perceived “dangers” of a female dominated society require the

defeat of the Amazon in order to preserve male supremacy in the societies in question? If so, why?

- **ESSAY #1 DUE**

**Study Questions: Mayor and Ober, “Amazonarchy”**

1. Describe the origins of the term “Amazons” from the Greek cultural perspective. How does this differ from the notions of Amazons among the steppe horse archers?
2. What is an “Amazonomachy” (plural: "Amazonomachies)? Why do the authors choose to accent it in order to increase our understanding of the cultural archetypes across time and space?
3. Why has the battle between male and female been such an enduring archetype throughout history? Here, for the first, but not the last time, we encounter the historical paradigm of “hegemonic masculinity” of R. W. Connell. In warrior societies, rank, status and wealth all depend upon ones warrior prowess. How deeply disturbing to “hegemonic masculinity” is the notion that women can also fight and even prevail against men? Does it not threaten the very foundations of those societies? Does it also threaten the role of subject women? Remember, to the Greek heavy infantry hoplites, bows were the weapons of cowards, whether wielded by men or women.
4. Indicate the historical perspective of the Sarmatian women warriors and the grave evidence to support the thesis that 20% of their warriors were women.
5. Compare and contrast the Greek war making ideal (phalanx with spears, infantry, and heavily armored, all male, settled societies) with that of the Amazons (individual bowmen, cavalry, lightly

armored, female, nomadic peoples) and indicate the historical basis for this dichotomy.

6. What does the fight between Conan the Barbarian and Red Sonya have in common with other Amazonomachies such as between Hercules and Hippolyte, the reigning Amazon champion or between Achilles and Penthesilea (the daughter of Ares and the Amazon defending Troy)?

7. Describe the threats posed to the male dominated Greek society with the “barbarian” freedoms of the Amazons.

8. Identify a variety of male impulses sustaining both the fear of, and yet allure of, female warriors in a variety of cultural and governmental contexts.

9. Why has the Amazonian tradition remained such an important part of Western – and other – cultures? Observers have seen the “Amazonian archetype” in the cultures of Europe, India, China, Africa, and Oceania, as well as in Native American societies in both North and South America.

10. Review some of the female exceptions to the patterns of male dominance in warfare over the millennia. Explain how different styles of warfare influence the possible roles assumed by women during various historical periods.

11. Explain the push-pull, attraction-repelling aspects of the Amazon myth today in advertising and also societal conflict simulation and resolution.

12. Why does Quintus of Smyrna describe Achilles after he kills Penthesilea as wishing he had taken her as his bride?

13. What is the ongoing fascination of men with women who are warriors despite the ambiguity of their role playing, and how is it that so many men are both attracted to and repelled by the sexually desirable woman who is also a warrior?

14. Men in the class – how would you like to live in a society dominated and ruled by women? Why or why not? Women in the class – how would you like to live in a society dominated and ruled by women? Why or why not?

**September 11      Student Learning Experience: Team Regiment Portrait**

**The key to success in battle is small group cohesion and the discipline that sustains it. Creating a regimental portrait is a symbolic way of cementing your team for the group efforts which come later in the course. This initial effort is critical to understanding how warfare works.**

Each team will put together a team portrait with individual and group photos as if preparing a poster for their regiment. Each poster will measure no more than 10” by 13.” Photos may be **large, clear, sharp and bright**. Excessive “Red-Eye” portraits will be rejected. Plastic lamination is neither necessary nor desirable. Firm backing and clarity of design are critical, however.

**Please make sure the name tags do not fall off when used.** Cover name tags with Scotch tape! **Name tags without Scotch tape will not be accepted**. Examples of the best and worst from previous classes will be displayed as positive and negative examples.

Note: Many teams have failed to win the class competition because of a poor start on this exercise. So remember, as in real warfare, “All the big mistakes are made early.” Too dark photos? No credit. Failure to put in team names? No credit. Forewarned is forearmed.

Note: Regimental portraits are due at the next class – as in war, as in life, “Time is speeded up by events.”

**September 13**     **Two Early Women Warriors: Artemisia** (Art ah misia) **and Boudica** (Boa di ci ah) (another standard pronunciation is Boo dah kah).

### **War in Context: Greek and Roman Warfare**

**Note: Team Poster due at beginning of class.**

#### **Required Reading:**

Margaret Donsbach, “Celtic War Queen Who Challenged Rome,” Military History (April 2004), pp. 50-79.

David Zabecki, “Artemisia at Salamis,” MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History (Summer 2014), pp. 38-43.

#### **Recommended Reading:**

Stephen Allen, Celtic Warrior 300 BC-AD (Oxford: Osprey, 2001). From the British Isles to the Danube to Cisalpine Gaul, this vigorous, warlike people enjoyed battle, often with less than perfect discipline and battle formations. They were an Indo-European people who came from the area between the Black and Caspian Seas and spread north and west of the Alps. From this same area came the Mycenaeans who went west and south into

Greece, the Aryans who went east and south into India, and the Hittites who went west. Many useful illustrations can be found in this work.

Newark, Women Warlords, “Braver Than Her Husband” and “Celtic Queens,” pp. 53-74 and 75-92.

Potholm, “Classical Infantry: Greek,” and “Classical Infantry: Roman,” Understanding War, pp. 271-286 and pp. 287-308.

### **Study Questions: Donsbach, “Celtic Warrior Queen”**

1. Describe the extent of destruction carried out by Boudica when she attacked Londinium.
2. Was this “sustained but controlled” ruthlessness or something else?
3. What steps did the Romans (especially the new Roman Emperor Nero) take which led to the revolt of the Iceni?
4. What was Boudica’s status at the time of the revolt?
5. How did the Romans overcome great odds in defeating Bodica?
6. What does this principle tell us about warfare in general?
7. What did Bodica do upon defeat?
8. Explain why male hierarchies often demand death as the price for women who dare to take up arms in warfare.

### **Study Questions: Zabecki, “Artemisia at Salamis”**

1. Describe how unusual was the role of Artemisia and how she became such a trusted admiral.
2. Analyze the major form of naval warfare during the Persian wars in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE.
3. What military mistakes did the Persians make leading up to the battle at Salamis?
4. What happened during the battle of Salamis and what were the reasons Artemisia counselled Xerxes against fighting it?

Note: Herodotus claims (Book 8, Section 68) that prior to the battle of Salamis, Queen Artemisia of Halicarnassus told Xerxes after seeing the Greek fleet penned up, “If you rush into a naval action, my fear is that the defeat of your fleet may involve the army also.” The Greeks, enraged at a woman admiral directing men in battle, put a price of 10,000 drachma on her head, but she led her ships out of their trap by ramming an allied vessel. How much of our Western misperceptions about female warriorhood can be traced back to the basic assumptions of the Greeks?

5. What honors – and why – did Artemisia receive from Xerxes after the Battle of Salamis where she was in the thick of action and only narrowly escaped being captured?
6. Although tantalizingly brief, what issues and questions does the story of Artemisia raise for the notion of women in combat?
7. Note that Richard Stoneman credits Artemisia not only with giving Xerxes good advice about not fighting the Battle of Salamis, but also to withdraw his army after it: “The whole point of this campaign was to burn Athens to the ground; you’ve done



that, so now you can leave.” See in his Xerxes: A Persian Life (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), p. 150.

8. Note also that on this occasion, Xerxes took her advice AND entrusted his son to Artemisia’s care on the long voyage home.

**September 18      Power Point Lecture: Women at War  
throughout the Ages: Part I**

**September 20      Women Warriors of the Christian God: “La  
Pucelle” and Christine de Pizan**

### **Required Reading:**

Kelly De Vries, “Joan of Arc,” Military History (January/February 2008), pp. 26-35. Pay special attention to the painting of her in battle formation on page 26.

Megan McLaughlin, “The Woman Warrior: Gender, Warfare and Society in Medieval Europe,” Women’s Studies, Vol. 17 (1990), pp. 192-209. Pay close attention to the author’s explanation for the increased participation in warfare by women. This is a seminal work.

Dan O’Reilly, “The Maid of Orleans,” Military History (April 1998), pp. 22-30. Note the different depiction of “La Pucelle” in the painting by Alphonse de Neuville, “The Wounding of the Maid at Orleans,” p. 25.

### **Recommended Reading:**

Juliet Barker, Conquest: The English Kingdom of France 1417-1450 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012). See especially “Jehanne D’Arc,” pp. 93-171. As Barker puts it (p. 102), the story

of Jehanne, the Pucelle or Maid, is “... extraordinary almost beyond belief. Her youth, her sex, her background, all militated against what she became: the companion of princes, inspirational military leader, martyr for faith and country.”

Christine de Pizan, edited by Charity Cannon Willard and translated by Sumner Willard, The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999). Written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century by this Italian born, but French court author, The Book of Deeds resurrects many classical writings on war (especially Vegetius) but also provides very useful contrasts between Medieval European war practices and those from antiquity, including just war, siege warfare, chivalry, trickery and subtlety. A truly amazing work especially given the time, the place and the sex of the author.

Note: for the mental climate of the times in which she operated, see Alcuin Blamires (ed.), Women Defamed and Women Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts (London: Oxford University Press, 1992). This wide ranging group of essays puts medieval anti-feminism and outright misogyny in sharp relief, featuring Tertullian, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome and St Augustine - leaving Christine de Pizan alone to defend women. Really helps one understand the magnificence of her achievement in that age.

Kelly DeVries, Joan of Arc: A Military Leader (London: Sutton, 1999). Easy to read and understand, the best book focusing on her military accomplishments, concluding “She had completed her mission and sealed it with her blood.” Gives “The Maid” credit for turning around the French military situation (with her successes in the Loire Valley, Reims and Patay) and blames the newly crowned Charles II for a failure to keep using her and her tactics both at Paris and beyond. “Joan of Arc was a soldier plain and simple.”

Note: This work is not too clear on how this farmer's daughter acquired the skills of warfare so suddenly, but acquire them she obviously did. This might be a useful subject for future research.

Potholm, "European Heavy Horse," Understanding War, pp. 314-332.

- **ESSAY #2 DUE**

**Study Questions: De Vries, "Joan of Arc"**

1. Describe the situation in France in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century after the French defeat at Agincourt in 1451.
2. What role did the Burgundians play in the struggle between the English and French?
3. Describe Joan's rise to military prominence.
4. How did she raise the siege of Orleans in May of 1429?
5. What military role did the "boulevards" play in medieval warfare?
6. Why were they so useful in sieges?
7. What was Joan's strategy in dealing with them?
8. Describe her subsequent military campaign in the Loire Valley during 1429.
9. What role did her belief in God and her mission play in her success?

10. Why did her effort to take Paris fail?
11. How was she captured and by whom, and why did they ransom her to the English?
12. Why was she burned at the stake on May 30, 1431? Note: it was not for heresy as so many have believed erroneously.
13. What impact did her tactics and strategy (as well as the proto-nationalism of her faith) have on subsequent French success during the last 23 years of the Hundred Years War?
14. What do you personally find worth remembering about her career?

**Study Questions: McLaughlin, “The Woman Warrior: Gender, Warfare and Society in Medieval Europe”**

1. What “anomalies” of gender representation appear in her analysis of warfare in medieval Europe (10<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries CE)?
2. What is her explanation for the “surprising number of female warriors” who appear in the medieval sources despite warfare being viewed as “a properly masculine activity”?
3. Why is McLaughlin comfortable merging the categories of “generals” and “warriors” for women during this period? Note: think about women as military leaders and strategists versus women as military followers.
4. What is the connection between the increased participation of women in warfare and the nature of castle life during this period? How is it related to “the relationship between the public and domestic spheres of life in a given society”?

5. Why does the author believe the status quo ante was restored in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and beyond if it was not simple attitudinal change?
6. The description of medieval warfare (pp. 201-205) is, in my opinion, brilliant and helps us understand not only what happened then, but what also helps to explain the flaws in U.S. strategy – not during, but after its successful invasion of Afghanistan following the events of 9/11 2001. See if you can figure out why the professor would make such a comparison.

**Study Questions: O'Reilly, "The Maid of Orleans"**

1. We now have a second source on the same subject. Which did you find more useful? Why?
2. Which gives the most historical context? Was that helpful to your understanding of "La Pucelle"?
3. Why was the Loire Valley such an important defensive position during the Hundred Years War?
4. How does O'Reilly explain the rise to prominence of "La Pucelle"? What elements does he highlight that are different from the earlier account?
5. How did the French, Burgundian and English nobility react to the rise of this female commoner on the field of battle?
6. What elements conspired against her gaining more control over the army that followed her?
7. Explain the intertwined nature of religion, politics and warfare during the 15<sup>th</sup> century. What is the space-time continuum of the

sacred and the profane operative in Medieval Europe which can help explain her rise (and eventual fall)?

8. Where would you put Joan in the broad sweep of women warriors we have studied in this course? How was she similar, how different? How would she fit or not fit the Amazonian prototype?

9. Explain the sanctioned rape of “La Pucelle” and the threat her transvestite figure posed in that and other ages.

10. How does the author accent Joan’s contributions to the *military* process of the period?

**September 25**     **Samurai Women Warriors 1184-1877 (Asian and African Heavy Horse)**

**Required Reading:**

Royall Tyler (translator), “Death of Lord Kiso,” excerpted from “The Tale of the Heike,” MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History, Vol. 25 No. 3 (Spring 2013), pp. 94-97.

Stephen Turnbull, Samurai Women 1184-1877 (Oxford: Osprey Books, 2010) especially “Women in Samurai History,” pp. 7-18, “The Samurai Woman in Peace and War,” pp. 23-35, and “The Samurai Woman on the Battlefield,” pp. 36-60.

**Recommended Reading:**

Potholm, “Heavy Horse: Japanese and Chinese,” Understanding War, pp. 349-354.

Ibid., “African Heavy Horse,” pp. 314-315.

David Sweetman, Women Leaders in African History (London: Heinemann, 1984). See especially the chapter on the war leaders Amina of Hausaland, Nzinga of Angola and Mmanthatsi of the Sotho.

### **Study Questions: Turnbull, “Samurai Women”**

1. Why is information about samurai women in battle “elusive”?
2. Describe the different forms of warfare of “*daimyo* versus *daimyo*” in contrast with “*daimyo* versus *ikki*” and indicate what were the differences for women in either form. How does it compare, for example, with the European heavy horse knight versus knight and knight versus peasant levy?
3. What fragmentary evidence suggests that women were more prevalent in medieval Japanese battles than previously thought?
4. Discuss the portrait of a woman in action depicted on page 13.
5. Compare and contrast the roles of women samurai in different eras, i.e. the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
6. Why did the Seinan War of 1877 spell the end for women warriors under the Meiji government?
7. What parallels are there for female samurai warriors in Western military tradition?
8. African parallels? Other Asian parallels?
9. Which weapons does the author highlight with regard to women in battle? Why are some favored and not others?

September 27

## **Women Warriors in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: America and Dahomey**

### **Required Reading:**

Deanne Blanton and Lauren Cook, They Fought Like Demons: Women Soldiers in the Civil War (New York: Vintage Press, 2002), “They Fought Like Demons: A Military History of Women in Combat,” pp. 8-24, “To Dress and Go as a Soldier,” pp. 25-44, “A Fine Looking Soldier: Life in the Ranks,” pp. 45-63, and “I Love My Country,” pp. 205-214.

Mike Dash, “Dahomey’s Women Warriors,” Smithsonian.com

### **Recommended Reading:**

Potholm, “The American Civil War,” Understanding War, pp. 451-460.

Robert B Edgerton, Warrior Women: The Amazons of Dahomey and the Nature of War (Boulder: Westview, 2000). The most scholarly and inclusive account of the Amazons of Dahomey, accenting their small unit cohesion, their vigorous training, their in-group bonding and their elite status as warriors without sex. If one became pregnant, she was tortured until she revealed the cause and both were then killed. Covers in significant detail both their participation in the slave trade and as worthy opponents of the French Foreign Legion as late as 1890’s.

### **Study Questions: Blanton and Cooke, “They Fought Like Demons”**

1. Describe the difficulties in piecing together the stories of “Jane Reb” and “Billie Yank” and give some reasons for them. Why do



the authors claim that “many more” women fought in the Civil War than the usual figures of 250-400?

2. Explain the authors’ claim that “The Civil War was an opportunity for hundreds of women to escape the confines of their sex.”

3. Explore the continuing archetype of the “Transvestite Heroine” a la Joan of Arc.

4. Describe the various roles of women as combatants, prisoners of war and casualties.

5. List some of the prominent battles in which women fought during the Civil War.

6. Explain the authors’ contention that “Our essential conclusion is that, with the exception of their sex, female soldiers did not differ in any fundamental way from male soldiers.”

7. Discuss the following motivations for women joining the respective Confederate and Union causes: adventure, wanting to be a soldier, escape the “economic prison” of being a woman, patriotism, to be with one’s husband or father, ease of physical examination, belief in abolition or states’ rights, desire for freedom and to escape the boredom of being a female in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Which motivation would be most appealing to you?

8. The chapter “I Love My Country” suggests that of the 3 million soldiers who were in the Civil War perhaps 1000 or more were women. Discuss what was involved in their changing gender identity.

9. What do women's relative percentages of killed, wounded, captured and died of disease tell us about their roles IN THE WAR?
10. How did these women move outside their "socially mandated positions"?
11. Discuss the irony of women (regarded as second class citizens in the U.S. of the 1860's) going to such "extraordinary lengths" to serve in the defense of their country. What does the authors' conclusion that "taken as a group, women were successful soldiers" tell us about the role of gender in combat?
12. What does the performance of women in the American Civil War 150 years ago tell us about today's debate concerning women in combat?

**Study Questions: Dash, "Dahomey's Women Warriors"**

1. Where was Dahomey and what is it called today?
2. Describe the formation of the "Amazon" formations of "Black Sparta." Why was it called "a Black Sparta"?
3. Why did King Gezo (1818-58) turn to women warriors in such numbers?
4. Describe the lives and privileges of these "third level wives."
5. What were some of the perks enjoyed by the Amazons in Dahomian society?

6. What was the “insensitivity training” of the female warriors? Describe it in detail and compare with preparation for battle in the U.S. today (for both men and women).
7. Analyze the wars between the Dahomians and the French.
8. The French Foreign Legion does not normally credit their foes with praise. What was the legionnaires’ view of the Amazons?
9. What is the significance of the Amazon song of victory “We have won! The blood flows, it flows, it flows. The blood flows, the enemy is no more”?
10. What are the major differences between the way 19<sup>th</sup> century America looked at women in combat versus those in Dahomey?
11. What are the cultural versus political reasons for those differences?

**October 2                      Women Warriors in Historical Perspective (1)**

- **ESSAY #3 DUE**

**October 4                      Women Warriors in Historical Perspective (2)**

Fall Break, October 6-10
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**October 11                      Exam Preparation**

**October 16                      HOUR EXAM #1**

**October 18                      Women Warriors of World War II**

**Required Reading:**

Bruce Myles, Night Witches: The Amazing Story of Russia's Women Pilots in World War II (Chicago: Academy Press, 1990).

Reina Pennington, "Reaching for the Sky," MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History, Vol. 22. No. 1 (Autumn 2009), pp. 34-43.

### **Recommended Reading:**

D'Ann Campbell, "Women, Combat, and the Gender Line," MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History, Vol. 6 #1 (1993), pp. 88-97. Indicates that a U.S. World War II study proved that female soldiers were ready to serve under fire and examines the reasons the U.S. did not adopt that strategy.

Richard J. Evans, The Third Reich at War (New York: The Penguin Press, 2009). This work captures the background from which these women test pilots emerged and the obstacles they faced. See also his two earlier works, The Coming of the Third Reich (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004) and The Third Reich in Power (New York: The Penguin Press, 2005).

Potholm, "'The Triumph of the Offense': The War in Europe," Understanding War, pp. 524-590.

Amy Goodpaster Streve, Flying for Her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II (Washington: Potomac Books, 2009). A deserved paean to the American and Soviet women who flew during World War II. In that war over 400,000 U.S. women were in the military, including many in the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP), the Women's Flying Training Detachment (WFTD), Women Army Corps (WAC) and Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC). Particularly useful is the chapter on "Gender Issues."

Mary Lou Colbert Neale, “Women of War,” Military History (December, 1993), pp. 35 ff. Astonishingly enough, 800,000 Soviet women served at the front during World War II.

**Study Questions: Myles, “Night Witches”**

1. What obstacles did Russian women face in trying to become fighter and bomber pilots and navigators?
2. How and why did Soviet governmental and military policy toward using women in combat change?
3. Describe the strain of night flying let alone night flying in combat.
4. The 586<sup>th</sup> Women’s Fighter Regiment, the 587<sup>th</sup> Women’s Bomber Regiment and the 588<sup>th</sup> Women’s Night Bomber Regiment flew different aircraft (Yak-1’s and PE-2’s) and flew different missions. Describe those differences.
5. Compare and contrast the capabilities of the German Me-109, Folk Wolf-190 and He-110 compared with the Soviet Yak-1, PO-2’s and Pe-2’s. Use Google if you need to. What does the ability of women to fly all of these tell us about the advantages of using women in aerial combat?
6. What did women do during the war to “preserve their femininity”? Why did they feel they needed to? In addition to bombing and shooting down enemy aircraft, what other function did the Night Witches perform?
7. Discuss the Russian Yak pilot’s statement “But admiring a beautiful girl was one thing, wanting to fly with her was quite another.” (93)

8. What made a good “Free Hunter”? Why was it a great honor to be assigned to such a squadron?
9. Who was Lilly, “The White Rose of Stalingrad”? What happened to her?
10. Compare and contrast the different facilities used by the Night Witches during the course of the war. Where did they fight?
11. Explain the significance of the 588<sup>th</sup> Women’s Night Bomber Regiment becoming the 46<sup>th</sup> Guards Regiment.
12. Explain the significant of Marina Chichnova’s 500th mission. Note: U.S. airmen did 25 missions over Germany in B-24’s and B-17’s.
13. What do the careers of the Night Witches tell us about the ability of women to participate successfully in combat?

Note: Following quotation is from Erwin Bartmann, Für Volk and Führer (Souihall: Helion and Company, 2010), p. 121:

“We laughed when we first saw them, the Polikarpov Po-2 biplanes – crop dusters, nothing but cloth stretched over a slight timber frame braced by stands of wire and powered by engines that clattered as if cobbled together from parts scavenged from a junkyard. When I first heard them, they brought to mind an image of my mother, her feet working the treadle of her sewing machine and hands industriously feeding the work piece under the needle. We came to dread the sound of these ‘*Nähmaschinen*’ (“sewing machines”) as we called them. They were tough little birds that could take rifle or machine-gun fire with apparent impunity. In a favorable wind, they flew so slowly they appeared to hover.

Surprisingly, the low airspeed of the *Nähmaschinen* was no

great disadvantage – our Me109s risked stalling if they tried to match their speed and flashed past before they were able to take proper aim. By the time they returned for a second pass, the Russian pilots had often skillfully maneuvered their aircraft out of harm's way. At night, the rattle of their engines would stop suddenly, as if the aircraft had been spirited from the darkness. Then, like hunting owls, they swooped, their bracing wires hissing through the air, a prelude to a storm of shrapnel from fragmentation bombs that burst without first whistling a warning. These attacks drained our strength not only by inflicting casualties, but also by denying us precious sleep. The female pilots of these infernal machines soon earned the epithet '*Nachthexen*' – witches of the night."

Note: The author was a member of the 1st Waffen SS Division, Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler, which was one of the most effective German formations of the war taking part in the invasion of France, Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union, including "the Miracle on the Donets," relief of the Cherkassy pocket and the battles for Normandy and The Bulge. (You may want to look up these important battles to more fully appreciate the value of the epithet "*Nachthexen*."")

### **Study Questions: Pennington, "Reaching for the Sky"**

1. Describe the different backgrounds of Hanna Reitsch and Melitta Schiller.
2. Report on the different aircraft they flew from the Me-163 to Do-17, JU-87, Me-262, Ju-88, etc. Why is this range of aircraft significant?. What is the importance of the Me-262?
3. What is the significance of the two women receiving Iron Crosses? Especially Melitta Schiller's award?

4. Indicate each woman's degree of support for the Nazi regime.
5. How did their careers end? What role did they play in the efforts to oust Adolf Hitler from power?
6. Describe the irony involved in the post-war career of Hanna Reitsch.
7. Analyze the life lesson of Chuck Yeager (he of The Right Stuff fame), "There are bold pilots and there are old pilots, there are few bold, old pilots" in terms of the accomplishments of these two intrepid women.
8. How did the careers of Hanna Reitsch and Melitta Schiller run counter to the Nazi paradigm for womanhood during the Third Reich?

October 23

**Groups discuss possible presentation topics**

October 25

**Women Warriors in Revolutionary War Situations: Case Studies of Vietnam and Eritrea**

**Required Reading:**

Karen Gottschang Turner and Phan Thanh Hao, Even the Women Must Fight: Memories of War from North Vietnam (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1998).

**Recommended Reading:**

Potholm, "Vietnam: 'People's War, Long War,'" Understanding War, pp. 633-660.



**Study Questions: Turner and Hao, “Even the Women Must Fight”**

1. What combat and support roles were played by Vietnamese women during the Vietnam War(s)?
2. Describe women in action repairing the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Why was this vital to the war effort?
3. Hao complains that the state has not properly recognized the dead nor repaid the living. Is she correct? How does her statement fit into the long arc of “the return of the warrior”?

Note: for additional information on the age-old dynamics of the returning warrior, see C. P. Potholm, “The Return of Warriors,” Understanding War, pp. 743-751.

4. Explain the “survivor’s guilt” plaguing those who lived through the long war. Describe some of the challenges and disappointments of the female veterans.
5. Explore the seeming paradox of women in combat and war and statecraft concluding “It is a woman’s duty to sacrifice her own needs to help her family.”
6. What does the Vietnamese woman veteran mean by “Only when women tell the truth about war can there ever be true peace”?
7. What role did women play in defending the Ho Chi Minh Trail’s most important choke points such as the Mu Gia Pass and the Dragon’s Jaw Bridge?

8. Who were the Trung sisters and how did they inspire women to play their parts in the armed struggles against the French and the Americans?
9. What lies behind the assertion of Colonel Le Trong Tam who wrote, “In fact, there was no distinction between men and women’s work. They used the same equipment and they both used weapons when they had to.”?
10. What happened to the women who fought for the NVA after the war ended? Remember the lesson of the double helix.

October 30

### **Women Warriors in Contemporary Wars: Iraq and Afghanistan**

#### **Required Reading:**

James E. Wise and Scott Baron, Women: Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Conflicts (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2006) Part I: Iraq, Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf, pp. 1-108.

#### **Recommended Reading:**

Potholm, “Mars is a Jealous God: Afghanistan and Iraq,” Understanding War, pp. 661-678.

#### **Study Questions: Wise and Baron, “Women in Iraq and Afghanistan”**

1. Give some examples of the different experiences of women in combat in the various services: Coast Guard, Marines, Army, Air Force.

2. Given the essential nature of IEDs and ambushes, doesn't transportation services mean serving in combat?
3. Given the "blurred distinction" between what is considered combat and what is real combat, haven't women already been serving in combat for decades?
4. What are the various definitions of "combat"?
5. How would you assess the "combat dimensions" of flying a plane? Driving a truck? Captaining a ship? Give some other situations which seem to require a new definition of combat.
6. Describe the story of Coast Guard Lt. Commander Holly Harrison.
7. What about that of PFC Michelle Lofus Fisher in the U.S. Army?
8. What about the experience of Captain Kellie McCoy in the 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne?
9. Carefully review Appendix B (pp. 193-218) which lists the Purple Hearts awarded to women in the various Middle East theatres.

November 1

## **Women in Combat?: The Debate Continues in Contemporary America**

### **Required Reading:**

Lolita Baldor, "Few Army Women Want Combat Jobs," Portland Press Herald, February 26, 2014.

Katie Forney Petronio, “Get Over It! We are Not All Created Equal” Marine Corps Gazette (7/12/12).

Sage Santangelo, “Fourteen Women Have Tried, and Failed, the Marines’ Infantry Officer Course. Here’s Why,” Washington Post, March 28, 2014.

Note: the Petronio and Santangelo pieces are here to highlight Bowdoin’s strong young women and their views on the subject. You should examine a broader range of opinions and arguments going forward as interest compels.

### **Recommended Reading:**

“Women in Combat? Insights Worth Repeating,” Marine Corps Gazette (November 1997), p. 73.

Rosa Brooks, “Is Sexual Assault Really an ‘Epidemic’?” Foreign Policy (2/13/2014). Author claims that “the U.S. military actually looks pretty good compared to, say American colleges when it comes to sexual assaults.” But why should women have to settle for less than zero tolerance in either one?

Cynthia Enloe, “Paying Close Attention to Women Inside Militaries,” in her Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), pp. 63-92. This work serves as a counter-balance to the assumptions of both Santangelo and Petronio that service in the military is ipso facto liberating even if women are treated as equals within it. In fact, Enloe argues that “a less militarized military would be one less imbued with an institutional culture of masculinized violence” and instead would place as much, if not more, emphasis on rescuing civilians from natural disasters all over the world.

Dave Phillips, “Infantry’s First Women Shoulder Heavy Gear and Weight of History,” New York Times, May 27, 2017, pp. 12-13. Profile of the first group of women who graduated from the Army 14 week infantry training course at Ft. Benning, Georgia. One woman, Private Donovan, finished second in overall fitness.

Michael Phillips, “Marine Corps Puts Women to the Test,” The Wall Street Journal, November 8/9, 2014, p. 1. A most interesting look at the U.S. Marines plan to test women for combat.

Potholm, “Daughters of Mars: Women at War,” Understanding War, pp. 704-720. A long listing of works dealing with this subject.

Katie Rogers, “Army Captain to Become First Female officer Trained to Lead Troops in Combat,” The New York Times, April 29, 2016, p. A11.

Anna Simons, “Here’s Why Women in Combat Units is a Bad Idea,” <http://warontherocks.com/category/blogs/charlie-mike/>

Kathy “Talent” van Dam, “Women in Combat Arms: Brass Tacks of Physicality,” <http://warontherocks.com/category/blogs/charlie-mike/> Concludes that women deserve to have a chance to be in combat if they pass the same tests as men. The best should be the best, free of gender norms.

Bing West, “Women in Ground Combat,” The American Interest, January 28, 2013. Not a good idea says the author, at least in some specialties.

**Study Questions: Petronio, “Get Over It!”**

1. What are the major arguments which Petronio gives for not placing women in certain combat situations?
2. What are her credentials for evaluating this assertion?
3. What elements in her experience enable her to come to her conclusions?
4. What aspects of her arguments make the most sense to you? The least?
5. Can you be a feminist (or a supporter of feminism) and still oppose women in combat?
6. Can a military or a society draw lines around certain combat roles and proscribe them?
7. If so, is “equality” threatened?

**Study Questions: Balor, “Few Army Women Want Combat Jobs”**

1. What is the significance of only 8% of the 170,000 women in the U.S. military stating they want a preference for combat positions?
2. What is the significance of those 8% overwhelmingly wanting to be a Night Stalker or a member of the elite special operations helicopter crews who flew SEAL or on other high tension missions?
3. What are the implications of both for the 2013 Pentagon order saying women must have the same opportunities as men in combat jobs?

4. Only 20% (about 200,000) of the 1.1 million jobs in the U.S. Army are combat or combat related (artillery, combat engineers) and only 9% are actually designated as direct combat, front line fighting positions. Do these figures surprise you? If so, why?
5. What is the significance of the 10:1 “tooth to tail” ratio? It was 15-1 during the Vietnam War. Does that tell us anything about the possible % of men who wish to be in combat at any given time?
6. Is the whole question of women in combat actually of little consequence, given these numbers? Why or why not?

**Study Questions: Santangelo, “Fourteen Women”**

1. How great is it to have two Bowdoin women Marines writing for the national press on this topic?
2. Describe Santangelo’s experience in the Marines’ premier 13 week training course.
3. Why does she say that female lieutenants aren’t as prepared as their male counterparts for the Infantry Officer Course?
4. What are her recommendations about how to change that?
5. Explain her support for the Marine Corps philosophy that “Failure should never be viewed as permanent or representative; it is an opportunity to remediate.”
6. What do you suppose would have happened to her if she’d been a male and went public with her disagreements with Marine Corps policy?

Note: Possible essay question, “Knowing what you know from beyond the writings of Petronio and Santangelo, which one most agrees with you personally? Did the alternative viewpoint influence your thinking?”

**November 6      Great Topic Bazaar**

All groups should familiarize themselves with Christian Potholm, “Why Study Military Matters?,” Understanding War (Brunswick: Bowdoin Service Bureau, 2016). This reference work is designed to assist you as you research topics related to women and war. There are two hard copies on two hour reserve in the Library for this course. It is also available online in PDF form. This should be your FIRST, BUT NOT YOUR LAST, research stop with regard to books on a particular subject. **Each team MUST examine its contents before this class period.**

• **ESSAY #4 DUE**

**November 8      Research Session/Library: Class meets in Library for research session with Carmen Greenlee**

**Note: ALL website citations and information need to be checked against scholarly articles and books. Make sure you ask Carmen how to do this properly. Also, ask her what is the latest PROPER citation for websites and use that method, making sure you put a period at the end of the citation so it matches the other traditional footnote forms.**

**November 13      Research Session/Library: Groups put into practice lessons learned**



**November 15**      **Teams #1 Sarmatians and #2 The Warrior Queens meet with Instructor/Presentation Prep**

**November 20**      **Teams #3 Amazons and #4 Night Witches meet with Instructor/Presentation Prep**

**Thanksgiving Break, November 22-26**

**November 27**      **Teams work to complete projects**

**November 29**      **Presentations: Teams #1 Sarmatians and #2 Warrior Queens**

**December 4**      **Presentations: Teams #3 Amazons and #4 Night Witches**

**Note: All students will dress as if presenting a paper in the Oval Office to the President of the United States. Our normal comfortable Bowdoin grunge attire is not acceptable. In other words, ignore the clothing of the professor as you discard the normal Bowdoin grunge. He is not a sartorial model, let alone paragon.**

**December 6**      **HOOR EXAM #2**

- **ESSAY #5 DUE**

**Reading Period and Exams, December 9-18**

## **Writing Suggestions**

1. **Write shorter sentences.** (“Hemingway knew what he was doing.”)
2. **Use the active—not passive—voice.** (“I read the book,” not “The book was read by me.”)
3. **Look for and eliminate split infinitives.** (“I want to quickly read the book.”)
4. **Look for and eliminate dangling participles.** (“I read the book, sitting in the chair.”)
5. **Never, ever use “like” as an adverb or adjective.** (“I was like reading when he came.”)
6. **Don’t end a sentence with a preposition.** (“I was reading a book I knew she was aware of.”)
7. **Use spell check, then read for sense, then use spell check again.**
8. **Read your essay aloud in front of a mirror to make sure it flows smoothly.** This will also help with your speaking in class.
9. **The hardest part of writing is getting your thoughts from your head to the paper the first time.** But that is not the end of the process. Once you have gotten your thoughts down on paper, let them go “cold” and come back and polish your essay again. And again. And again. **Rewriting is the key to good writing.**

10. **Always use 16 point font for this course.** Times New Roman is the preferred script as well.

11. **Always leave a double space after any period.**

12. **Always double space your paper and write only on one side** so that the professor has room for his comments.

Note: 90% of Maine is covered by trees so do not stress about using its low grade pasture pines for paper pulp. Think of pasture pines as weeds.

13. Always, always use spell check before you turn in your paper. Not using spell check before turning in your paper conveys the strongest sense of disrespect for yourself and your professor.

14. In addition to using spell check, always read over carefully after you have used spell check because spell check can confuse words which are spelled correctly but which are not appropriate in a given context. For example, the use of “bear” for “bare” or “there” for “their.”

15. Also, it is *always* a good idea to read your paper out loud to yourself in front of a mirror. If the words flow in this context, the professor will find it a smoothly written piece of work. If the narrative seems disjointed, confusing or confused, rewrite. **Rewriting is the key to good writing.**

16. Turn in two copies of every report so that we may keep one for the government department files (yes,

believe it or not, some students have been known re-gift papers from previous years), and return one with comments.

17. Staple reports together. Do not use any of those silly plastic binders which fall apart when touched. Do not ever use paper clips, which are even worse! If you do not know how to use a stapler, please consult the Bowdoin IT department and they will give you a quick tutorial on this most vital of subjects.

18. Students needing further “stylistic and grammatical assistance” should also consult William Strunk, E.B. White, Roger Angell, The Elements of Style Fourth Edition (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 1999).

19. **Do not e-mail copies of your paper.** Papers must be printed and delivered in person during class or to my office, which is in 201 Hubbard Hall. Papers may be left in the plastic trays outside the office if the professor is not there. Final report papers are due the last day of classes.

## **Footnotes and Bibliographies**

Every year it gets more and more frustrating as many entering students either have no idea about footnotes and bibliographical citations or simply come up with their own idea as to what constitutes a footnote citation. It thus becomes necessary to set some **minimum** standards for the practice of citation in my courses.

Therefore, for the purposes of this course, simply follow the footnote and bibliographical citations listed here and you will not run afoul of “Potholm’s Punishment”—no paper will be given full credit if it has improper footnotes.

If the following is not clear, or some possibilities are not outlined, go to the Bowdoin library and take out any book written by me and use the footnotes and bibliography (they are not exactly the same) as a guide to ensure proper citation. Other professors will appreciate this courtesy in their own courses.

1. Put all page numbers at the top right corner of the page. Papers numbered any other way or not numbered at all will be docked 10 points automatically.
2. Do not put a page number on the front page if possible.
3. When you have a quote or wish to make a footnote, put that footnote at the bottom of the page or at the end

of the paper. Use Arabic numbers ONLY, do not use Roman numerals for footnotes. Papers using Roman numerals will NOT be accepted. The Roman Empire was overthrown by barbarians a long time ago. Why this truly archaic form for footnotes persists is truly a major mystery for the History Channel.

4. **For this course**, also, do not put the footnote in the text itself. This is quite acceptable in the sciences, sociology and anthropology, but this course is not being taught in any of those departments.

5. The first time you cite a book, put the author, the title of the book (underlined), an open parenthesis, the city where it was published, a colon, then the publisher's name, then a comma, then the date it was published, then a closed parenthesis followed by a comma, the letter p. (or pp. if more than one), followed by a period. Thus: Richard E. Morgan, Duck Hunting along the Atlantic Flyway (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 11.

6. If the **very next** footnote refers to the same book and the same page as the one before, put Ibid. Always underline Ibid. to show you are well educated and know it is a Latin phrase!

7. If the very next footnote refers to the same book but uses a different page, put Ibid. and then the page number. Thus: Ibid. p.16.

8. If, however, you make reference to another work in an intervening footnote, you should re-cite the first book as follows: Morgan, op. cit., p. 131.

9. Use basically the same citation for an article but present it as follows: author's name, the title of the article (in quotation marks), "in" then the editor's name (if there is one), followed by the volume (vol.), number (# in Roman numerals), date (in parentheses) and page numbers. Thus: Allen Springer, "Canada at the Crossroads," in Orbis Vol. XXX, No. 6 (2000), pp. 16-45.

10. For bibliographies, use the same citation method as above but with the author names in alphabetical order by last name and without page numbers. Thus: Morgan, Richard, Duck Hunting Along the Atlantic Flyway (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

11. For Internet citations use the website and page numbers (if any), underlining the reference. Thus: www.warlovers.com. When in doubt, simply use the exact website address which would get other readers to the same place.

12. For films, put the name of the film in quotations, followed by the studio and the date as "Pork Chop Hill" (MGM, 1959).

13. For interview citations, use the following: person interviewed, by whom, date. Thus: Ralph Nader, interview with Professor John Rensenbrink, August 31, 2003.

## **Presentation Suggestions**

1. Find a variety of sources, and be sure to correctly cite all of them.

Some initial possibilities include:

- (a) Government documents in the basement of H-L Library—there are a variety of government materials, so ask the librarian downstairs for help.
- (b) Internet databases at [library.bowdoin.edu](http://library.bowdoin.edu). Look along the right column at the website, second from left: indexes/databases.
- (c) Academic Universe has full-text journal articles, the Expanded Academic Index has journal articles, and PAIS International has abstracts of journal and book articles.
- (d) Try other databases and see what you can find. Microfilms are in the back of the first floor of H-L Library.
- (e) See newspapers from your era of study on file in the library.

**If you need help, please contact a Bowdoin librarian for help. They are more than willing to assist you in finding materials!**

**Note: It is not enough to check out websites alone. You must back up your initial explorations on the web with a look at the scholarly literature, articles as well as books.**

2. Begin early. These are lengthy presentations. You have to start early to gather and organize all of your information.



3. Find ways to make the presentation interesting—be creative.
  - (a) Video clips
  - (b) Posters
  - (c) Hand-outs
  - (d) Pictures
  - (e) Overheads
  - (f) Personal anecdotes
  - (g) Maps
  - (h) Anything that will enhance our understanding!
4. Organize the presentation, and practice it beforehand.
  - (a) Preparation shows
  - (b) Practice on each other
  - (c) Practice in front of a mirror or your roommate
  - (d) There is no substitute for practice!
5. Be sure to speak loudly and clearly! We will enjoy your presentation much more if we can hear you, and if you look like you enjoyed the topic you studied. Remember, too, that your classmates are taking notes. Help them by speaking distinctly.
6. Do not use a PowerPoint presentation if:
  - (a) You have not tested the entire program beforehand in the classroom where it will be presented,
  - (b) You are going to read the material on it word for word.
7. The group research process works best when groups divide the work after the initial research, but

continue to coordinate with each other. Giving each person a point to focus on helps to diffuse the total work load. It also allows each person to study an area of interest. Put in time and effort and it will show. Giving a talk in a history course at Bowdoin in 1961 led your professor to become one. Good luck!

## **Partial Select Bibliography**

In the future, hopefully the bibliography listed here will grow and grow substantially. You will play a part. As students of “The Women Warriors: The Daughters of Mars,” you will add to it as your explorations discover new sources and direct the professor and future students to them. In its present form, this partial select bibliography simply provides an introduction and a point of departure for your research.

Karen Abbott, Liar, Temptress, Soldier, Spy: Four Women Undercover in the Civil War (New York: Harper, 2014). An engaging tale of women at war in a variety of roles. Of special interest is Emma Edmonson, the soldier, who enlisted as Private Frank Thompson in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Michigan and fought at Fredericksburg, in the Shenandoah Valley and at Second Bull Run before deserting and becoming “a woman” again. Her memoir sold 175,000 copies and she gave all the money to sick and wounded survivors of the Army of the Potomac.

Miranda Aldhouse-Green, Boudica Britannia (Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited, 2006). Gives a good background on the causes of Boudicca’s uprising and the impact it would later have on Roman Britain.

Peter Aleshire, Warrior Woman: The Story of Lozen, Apache Warrior and Shaman (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2001). Lozen spent 40 years fighting, a true warrior even among the likes of Cochise, Geronimo and Victorio in “a war dominated culture.” Finding her “a great exception” to the normal sexual hierarchy, the author marvels at her skill, steadfastness and vision-skills in seeing the enemy. A good source for her whole life.

Svetlana Alexiyevich, War's Unwomanly Face (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1985). Despite its title and propaganda intent, this work manages to become a most powerful paean to women at war. 800,000 Russian women answered their country's call during World War II, either as members of the regular armed forces or partisan bands, or both. Moving, poignant and insightful, it captures the many faces of women in battle, including front line soldiers. Ordinary women doing extra-ordinary things as comrades in arms, declaring "What do you mean, girls –they're soldiers." They were. Six months after being listed here, Alexiyevich won the Nobel Prize for literature. Post hoc, ergo propter hoc?

Anonymous (edited by Volundr Lars Agnarsson), The Saga of Erik the Red (New York: Create Space Independent Publishing Platform, 2012). According to this saga, in the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE, Fredis Eiriksdottir, a shieldmaiden, sees her menfolk losing a battle to the Skraelings or Native Americans. Although pregnant, she bares her breasts and appears to be sharpening her sword on them as she attacks the Skraelings. They flee. A cautionary tale about the chance encounter between two cultures as well as the extent to which women warriors in history have been subordinated to their male counterparts.

Note: See also Margaret Elphinstone, The Sea Road (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2000) (F) for the saga of Gudrid of Iceland who traveled to Vineland, bore a son and witnessed the battles (and misunderstandings) with the Skraelings, and who also seemed to see alternatives to fighting.

Teena Apeles, Women Warriors (Emeryville: Auslow, 2003). A breezy and superficial account, but one which leaves the correct impression that a fair number of women warriors have always existed across a variety of societies, from Vietnam and China to

Russia to Mexico and among many Native American tribes, including the Apache, the Cherokee, Blackfeet and Gros Ventre.

Ruth Ashby and Deborah Ohrn, Herstory: Women Who Changed the World (New York: Viking, 1995). A wide ranging listing of many important women, including the warriors from the Trung sisters through Sultana Razia, including seldom mentioned ones such a Phung Thi Chinh (Chinese) and Triew Au (Vietnamese).

Kathryn J. Atwood, Women Heroes of World War II (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2011). A breezy introduction to women who risked their lives in the war, featuring examples from Poland, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Holland, Belgium, and the U.S. Unfortunately, no Russian women are included.

Albert Azell, Russia's Heroes (London: Robinson, 2001). Luckily, given the concerns about Atwood's book cited above, there is this volume. Breezy and an easy read but worth consulting for the amazing story of Nadezhda "Nadya" Popova, the Russian woman pilot who flew over 1000 missions during World War II beginning in October 1941 and going to the end of the war. "Yes, the Germans called us 'Night Witches.' Yes, we practiced our 'witchcraft' almost from the first to the last days of the war."

Anni Baker, "Daughters of Mars: Army Officers' Wives and Military Culture on the American Frontier," Historian, Vol. 67 No. 1 (Spring, 2005), pp. 20-42. Army wives in the 1870's and 1880's in the American West identified with their husband's army and its cultures and traditions. The author believes these women developed the "Cult of Army Womanhood," "incorporating military and masculine characteristics into their behavior, even explicitly rejecting some values of civilian women."

Lolita Baldor, “Few Army Women Want Combat Jobs,” Portland Press Herald, February 26, 2014, A-5. Only 7.5% of women in the U.S. Army at the time of this survey said they were interested in combat positions (including field artillery and combat engineers). But an overwhelming number of that 7.5% wanted to be Night Stalkers (elite special operations helicopter pilots, navigators and gunners). Note the comparison with the “Night Witches” of World War II Soviet women.

Juliet Barker, Conquest: The English Kingdom of France 1417-1450 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012). See especially “Jehanne D’Arc,” (pp. 93-171). As Barker puts it (p. 102), the story of Jehanne, the Pucelle or Maid, is “... extraordinary almost beyond belief. Her youth, her sex, her background, all militated against what she became: the companion of princes, inspirational military leader, martyr for faith and country.” All of those and then some.

Gretchen Bataille and Laura Lisa (eds.), Native American Women (New York: Routledge, 2001). A grand listing of many Native American women from poets and ballerinas to warriors. Some useful examples of Native American warriors include: (a) The Other Magpie (p. 309), who rode with the Crow Wolves, scouts for the U.S. Army, and counted coup four times against the Lakota in the Battle of the Rosebud (1876) crying ‘See my spirit is my armor;’ (b) Running Eagle (p. 258) of the Black Feet Nation who entered the Braves Society and fought the Crows and others and was eventually killed by the Flatheads; as well as (c) Dahteste (p. 83), an Apache warrior who fought with Geronimo and Lozen and her two husbands against the U.S. Army and later served with them as a scout.

Jelnea Batinic, Women and Yugoslav Partisans: A History of World War II Resistance (New York; Cambridge University Press,

2015). Students highly praise this work looking at the lives of the female *partizankas* during World War II. The Double Helix is present in the aftermath of their courageous service. Many contradictions in the lives of women are chronicled.

Kelly Bell, “Werewolves of Aachen,” Military History Vol. 34 #2 (July 2017), pp. 22 ff. Last ditch SS resistance assassins include a woman Ilse Hirsch.

Judith Bellafaire, Women in the United States Military: An Annotated Bibliography (New York: Routledge, 2001). Quite a compendium of books, articles and notes on women in the military ranging from “Early Patriots” to “The All-Volunteer Force and the War on Terror.” Many seldom-cited articles are mentioned here. A very useful resource.

Barbara Benton, “Friendly Persuasion: Women as War Icons 1914-1945,” MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History, Vol. VI No. 1 (Autumn 1993), pp. 80-87. Captures the essence of women as icons in, and of, war when used by men to achieve particular goals, whether buying war bonds or supporting the country’s armed forces. Contains an interesting array of the actual posters used by a number of countries.

Carol Berkin and Clara Lovett (eds.), Women War and Revolution (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1980). A set of essays covering situations (ranging from France in 1789 to Cuba, Italy and World War I) in which women played a role seeking peace as well as war. Wide ranging account with many interesting dimensions presented.

Phyllis Birnbaum, Manchu Princess, Japanese Spy: The Story of Kawashima Yoshiko, the Cross-Dressing Spy Who Commanded Her Own Army (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

While it is perhaps stretching things to label her a true warrior, given her position in Manchukuo and her only loose command of her “helter skelter part-time band, the Ankoku Army,” during the battle of Rehe, this account of Yoshiko is diverting, albeit a tad bizarre.

Jane Blair, Hesitation Kills: A Female Marine Officer's Combat Experience in Iraq (Washington: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011). A strong woman warrior who rises through the ranks in the U.S. Marine Corps sees action in Iraq in the 26 day war and part of the occupation, and certainly shows that women have been assets in combat if allowed to participate. A very insightful portrait of one female “Devil Dog” who remarks, “Once you kill, you can't take it back” and “Our only certain destiny was killing or being killed.”

Tanya Blank, Undaunted: The Real Story of America's Servicewomen in Today's Military (New York: NAL Caliber, 2013). Since 9/11 over 250,000 women have served in Iraq and Afghanistan and more than 140 have been killed in action. Blank looks at a brigadier general in the Marines, a drill instructor in the Marines, an army major and an army MP. The author also gives a very good set of insights into what life in the military is really like for today's women.

Deanne Blanton and Lauren Cook, They Fought Like Demons: Women Soldiers in the Civil War (New York: Vintage Books, 2002). An in-depth look at the broader (many more than the normally quoted 250-400) range of women who fought in the Civil War, beginning with First Bull Run and ending with Appomattox and including the Peninsula campaign, 2<sup>nd</sup> Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg (Pickett's Charge!), Vicksburg, the Wilderness, Cold Harbor, Red River, Shiloh, Petersburg and Sherman's March to the Sea. Also examines the many motivations for enlisting, including patriotism, love of



freedom, desire to be with one's spouse, father or brother, spirit of adventure, economic advancement and desire to escape the confines of womanhood in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

Mia Bloom, Bombshell (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). Arguing that women have pressured the leadership in Sri Lanka, the Irish Republic and Palestine to let them participate in warfare, including suicide bombings, the author nevertheless hopes for pathways for women to exit those terrorist organizations.

James Blythe, "Women in the Military: Scholastic Arguments and the Medieval Images of Female Warriors," History of Political Thought, Vol. XXII. No. 2 (Summer 2001), pp. 242-269.

Analyzes the arguments for or against women in war in the political treatises of Ptolemy of Lucca (1236-1347) and Giles of Rome (1243-1316). Opposes not only their "medieval misogyny" but their echoes among the arguments of some "difference feminists" who use the same arguments against women in combat today.

Laudomia Bonanni, The Reprisal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013) (F). This powerful novel captures the essence of the "warrior woman" with her "fury-like power" and feminine qualities (her heroine, "La Rossa," the red haired revolutionary, is pregnant and not killed by the Fascist partisans until after giving birth). Takes place in Italy during the waning months of World War II when Germans, Fascists and partisan bands of various political hues roamed the land in an Hobbesian all against all struggle.

Melissa Lukeman Bohrer, Glory, Passion and Principles: The Story of Eight Remarkable Women at the Core of the American Revolution (New York: Atria Books, 2003). Featuring the likes of

Molly Pitcher who fought at the Battle of Monmouth in 1778, Deborah Sampson who served 18 months before being discovered as a woman, and Nancy Ward, the Cherokee “Honored Woman” and slave owner whose prowess in battle led her to be included in the Cherokee War Council.

Martin Brayley, World War II Allied Women’s Services (Oxford: Osprey Publications, 2001). Richly illustrated work providing insights into the British, American, Canadian, Australian, South African, Burmese, New Zealand, French and Soviet woman who played a vital role during World War II, providing “human power” (in the case of Americans, equal to 15 male divisions).

-----, World War II Allied Nursing Services (Oxford: Osprey Publications, 2002). The first fully illustrated study of the U.S., British, Commonwealth and other nursing organizations who saved so many lives, sometimes at a cost of their own.

Jamila Brijbhushar, Sultana Raziya: A Reappraisal (New Delhi: Manohar, 1990). Indian sourced, this is an in-depth work which covers the whole of her reign and administration. Particularly interesting are pp. 50-54 on her army. This Moslem ruler was bedeviled by the disloyalty of her Turkish nobles, many of the Hindu princes and the lurking Mughals to the north. Concludes, “A study of Raziya’s reign gives no indication of the fact that her sex was any real hardship to her.”

Frederick Brown, “The Battle for Joan” in his The Embrace of Unreason: France, 1914-1940 (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2014), pp. 76-91. An incisive look at the continuing fascination with “The Maid.” She not only was beatified in 1909, she also became the patron saint of Vichy France so that “the archenemy was no longer Germany but England.”

R. Brzezinski and M. Mielczarek, The Sarmatians 600 BC-AD 450 (Oxford: Osprey, 2002). The authors claim that Sarmatian women fought in battle and were either (a) not able to marry before killing an enemy in battle or at least (b) not able to marry unless facing an enemy in battle. In any case, they were doing actual fighting against many enemies. Good pictures of women in action so many eons ago. Many excavated graves show Sarmatian warrior women buried with their weapons.

Kimberly Moore Buchanan, Apache Women Warriors (El Paso: University of Texas at El Paso Press, 1986). Believes that women were allowed into male activities with “high prestige” in many Native American societies (among them the Pawnee, Mandan, Gros Ventres, Crow and Sioux) and gives specific examples such as Water Sitting Grizzly of the Kutenai, Running Eagle of the Blackfeet, Ehyophsta of the Cheyenne and Chief Earth Woman of the Ojibwa. See especially Chapter Six, “Women Warriors: Forgotten Gladiators.” The author gives a number of reasons women went to war: (1) revenge of a loved one (such as Running Eagle of the Blackfeet), (2) love (such as Chief Earth Woman of the Ojibwa), and rescue (such as Ehyophsta of the Cheyenne).

David Bullock, “Women in the Russian Civil War” in his The Russian Civil War 1918-22 (Oxford: Osprey Publications, 2008), pp.107-113. The author documents with many concrete examples his statement that “Women, in fact, served in every army on every front in every phase of the Russian Civil War.” Some women warriors depicted include Baron Fredericks, Varvara “The White Angel of the White Army,” Marina Yurlova and Pavlina Ivanovna Kuznetsova.

Lauren Cook Burgess (ed.), An Uncommon Soldier (Pasadena: The Minerva Center, 1994). Letters of Sarah Rosetta Wakeman aka Pvt. Lyons Wakeman of the 153<sup>rd</sup> Regiment, New York

Volunteers, whose members signed up for \$152, a year's wages. Three million served and hundreds of thousands of letters written without censorship. She served from 1862 to 1864, and during the Red River campaign in Louisiana came down with chronic diarrhea, dying after a month in the hospital during which time her female status was never discovered.

Alex Burghart, "Aethelflaed: Iron Lady of Mercia," BBC History Magazine Vol. 12, #8 (2011), pp. 60-63. Answers the question "Where is a woman's place?" with the answer "A woman's place is on the throne" or "...in the saddle leading her troops successfully against the Welch and the Norsemen."

Richard Burton, A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahomey (New York: Praeger, 1966). Burton goes to many places, including Mecca, and he is quite impressed with the Amazons and describes their practices, weapons, dress and many other aspects of their military lives. Suspect now as anthropologists have had difficulty corroborating his findings but at the same time, his descriptions project warrior abilities and capabilities, which are much verified.

Pierce Butler, "Jeanne de Montfort" in his Women of Mediaeval France (Philadelphia: The Ritten House, 1907), pp. 285-305. Marguerite, Countess to Jeanne Montfort of Britany (also known as "La Flamme") took over defense of his realm when he was captured. Led her mounted knights to destroy the camp of the besieging French and burned their tents and wagon train, hence her nickname. She later fought at sea with the English against the Genoese (Jeanne de Montfort had pledged allegiance to Edward III), and later her husband escaped his captivity. Their son was eventually recognized as Duke of Brittany. This is a real warrior's warrior.

Kevin Cahillane, "The Women of West Point," The New York Times Magazine, September 7, 2004, pp. 46-59. A contemporary look at how women are being prepared for combat missions beginning in 1976. From 1802-1976, there were no women, since then almost 4200 have enrolled. In 2015, they make up 22% of the incoming class.

D'Ann Campbell, "Women, Combat, and the Gender Line," MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History, Vol. 6 #1 (1993), pp. 88-97. Indicates that a U.S. World War II study proved that female soldiers were ready to serve under fire and examines the reasons the U.S. did not adopt that strategy.

Rick Campbell, Empire Rising (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2015) (F). In the near-future China invades Taiwan AND Japan and sinks the U.S. Pacific Fleet, but eventually loses due to computer malware inserted by U.S. via Seal Team in Beijing led by National Security Advisor Christine O'Connor who is twice as smart as any man and better with a gun. A new Super Hero emerges. Oddly enough, neither side uses tactical or strategic nuclear weapons.

Helen Castor, "The Real Joan of Arc is Every Bit as Extraordinary As the Myth," BBC History Magazine (Vol. 15, No. 10), pp 50-51. The title says it all and its content is well introduced by the telling phrase "In many ways, then, her story is a life told backwards."

-----, Joan of Arc: A History (New York: Harper, 2015). Perhaps the best of all her biographies in putting "La Pucelle's" story in the truce context of the existing power struggles between and among, the English, the Burgundians and the House of Valois. She tells the story from the beginning of the period (with great detail) to the exact story of The Maid. Very good on the military side of Joan. Her religious fervour and native sense and personal

courage eventually brought her triumph, but all of these were eventually subsumed by the mediaeval intrigue of the day – at least in the short term.

-----, She-Wolves: The Women Who Ruled England Before Elizabeth (New York: Harper, 2015). Vilified for their “usurpation” of men’s roles and rules, these women – such as Matilda, Eleanor, Isabela and Margaret – paved the way for Queen Elizabeth. Smooth flowing stories intrigue the reader.

E.V. Cernenko, The Scythians 700-300 BC (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 1983). These horse archers held sway for 400 years, and spawned an immortal legend of women warriors. See page 24D for drawing of a Scythian noblewoman, 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. During their centuries of glory, the Scythians defeated the Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Assyrians and Urartus. A dominant warrior culture in which women played an important role in battle.

Cynthia Cockburn and Zubravka Zarkove, The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping in Bosnia and the Netherlands (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2002). This collection of essays explores the notion that peace is but “a continuum of conflict” with war. Moreover since war may threaten masculine-dominated society, “After war, the traditional militarized gender regime endows men with the power in politics and locates women’s importance within the family.” The authors are justly disdainful of the “soft yet armed, masculinity” of the Dutch peacekeepers who turned over male Bosnian Muslims to the Bosnian Serbs during the siege of Srebrenica. In fairness to “masculine-dominated societies,” few male or female warrior cultures would ever exonerate the Dutch peacekeepers for their performance here, for it was pathetic by any standards of warriors. Various contributors comment on the “gendered nature of war” and one, Cynthia Enloe, declares ‘Nationalism typically has sprung

from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope” while Stefan Dudink argues that “War and the military have always been major forces in the making of modern Western masculinity.” The “heightened masculinity” of the radical Salafists would make an interesting comparative study since that particular strain is more than 1200 years old.

Satish Chandra, History of Medieval India (800-1700) (Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 2007). See especially pp. 78-80, “Raziya,” which stresses the preparation for rule she received from her father Iltutmish before he died, the forces constantly arrayed against her and her bravery in action.

Carol Cohn, “Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals,” Signs, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Summer, 1987), pp. 687-718. If one can get by the truly bizarre fascination (of both the author and the subjects of her study) with the male phallus as images of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki and nuclear craters as “feminine,” the article ends with some common sense suggestions concerning nuclear deterrence leading to “creating compelling alternative visions of possible futures.”

----- (ed.), Women and Wars (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013). A wide ranging set of essays which operate through “a gender lens” on such diverse topics as “Sexual Violence and Women’s Health in War” and “Women and the Peace Process” and “Women ‘After’ Wars.” A very extensive bibliography is included. Strangely, given the title of the work, there is almost nothing about women warriors or war leaders especially in combat *qua* combat throughout history although Cohn argues that “all wars are deeply gendered...”

Helen Collinson (ed.), Women and Revolution in Nicaragua (London: Zed Books, 1990). Contains a telling map showing FDA

incursions which begin the book, and there are many essays dealing with the women especially “Fighting for Peace.” Quite a worthwhile look through the prism of revolutionary fervor. One of the authors admits to being “stunned” by the “Rightwing” UNO victory at the polls in 1992 as a union of 14 parties defeated the Sandinista Front for National Liberation, but she does not believe that victory will turn back the clock on the revolution.

Vanessa Collingridge, Boudica: The Life of Britain’s Legendary Warrior Queen (Woodstock: The Overlook Press, 2006). A long, lingering (a hundred pages of pre-Boudica and many post-Boudica), meandering look at the reality and the legend concluding she was “A Queen for All Seasons.”

Dan Connell, Against All Odds: A Chronicle of the Eritrean Revolution (Trenton: Red Sea Press, 1993). A must read as it highlights all the ways women served in the revolution against Ethiopia and the extent to which this Red Sea country leveled the playing field for women in combat. However, many women justly claim that after victory, they were not given the credit and equality they felt they deserved. The double helix is alive and well in the Horn of Africa.

Sarah Corbett, “The Women’s War,” New York Times Magazine, March 18, 2007, pp. 41 ff. Some insightful glimpses into women in today’s armed forces. Shows how close to actual combat many women have become and how some have been in combat, no matter how rigorously that is defined by those not wanting to admit it.

Bernard Cornwell, The Empty Throne (New York: Harper, 2014) (F). Set in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century in what is now England, this is the fictionalized account of how Aethelflaed, daughter of Alfred of Wessex and widow of Aethelred, Lord of Mercia, ruled Mercia. A



very capable woman who “proved herself to be more of a warrior than her brother.” A good read and one which also provides valuable insights into the shield war form of warfare practiced by the Vikings and Saxons (among others) and how men would follow a woman in battle if she had the right birthright *and* warrior skills.

Princess Kati Dadeshkeliani, Princess in Uniform (London: G. Bell, 1934). This woman from Georgia in the Caucasus joined the Russian army as “Djamal” and ended up in the Tartar Regiment of the “Savage Division” commanded by Grand Duke Michael. Wounded several times and received two St. George Crosses, she saw action on the Austrian front and barely escaped death during the Russian Civil War, finally leaving via Batum and Constantinople, ultimately settling in France.

William Dalrymple, The Last Mughal: The Fall of a Dynasty: Delhi, 1857 (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2006). A highly sympathetic and in-depth analysis of the Great Indian Rebellion of 1857, with an extra-ordinary richness of characters and background. See especially the author’s take on Rani Lakshmibai who led her Jhansi troops against the British during the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857-58. She called on her troops to die in battle if necessary and is now regarded as one of the pioneers for Indian Independence a hundred years later.

Francine D’Amico and Laurie Weinstein (eds.), Gender Camouflage: Women and the U.S. Military (New York: New York University Press, 1999). Very informative collection of essays divided into “Women in the Military,” “Women *With* The Military” and “Outsiders: Women and the Military.” Basically argues that the military always puts men first and that great change is necessary to liberate women AND men from the core gender hierarchy which overpowers all.

Jeannine Davis-Kimball, Warrior Women: An Archaeologist's Search for History's Hidden Heroines (New York: Warner, 2002). Breezy and personal account of the author's discoveries among the Saka, Scythian and Sarmatian graves from Kazakhstan, Russia and China focusing on women in various cultures who were warriors. A useful *tour de horizon*.

Richard Deacon, "Feminine Exploits in World War II," in his A History of the British Secret Service (London: Frederick Muller, 1969). A most sobering portrait of the actions of the British Special Operations Executive (SOE) during World War II. Of 53 women sent into action (many with only minimal training or support), 12 were executed and 29 were either arrested or died in captivity.

Edwin Denig, "Warrior Woman," John Ewens (ed.) Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), pp. 195-201. Calling Woman Chief the only woman chief among the Sioux, Arickaras, Assiniboinés, Crees and Crows, the author outlines her fascinating history. This Gros Ventre girl, captured at age 10, had a foster father who allowed her to pursue her passions which included hunting, counting coup, stealing horses and proficiency with weapons. Upon his death, she assumed command of his family and participated in both warfare and tribal decision making and would acquire four wives before being killed ironically by her own people, the Gros Ventres.

Linda Grant DePauw, Battle Cries and Lullabies; Women in War from Prehistory to the Present (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998). A wide ranging and very comprehensive look at thousands of years of female participation in the military, including the 100 Year's War, the Napoleonic wars and the French and Indian wars. Good section on African women leaders in combat.

Christine de Pizan, The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry. An amazing document for the 15<sup>th</sup> century, written by an early feminist. Imagine how many cultural and religious barriers she had to overcome to even get her book published. Written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century by this Italian born but French court author, The Book of Deeds resurrects many classical writings on war (especially Vegetius), but provides very useful contrasts between Medieval Europe war practices and those from antiquity, including just war, siege warfare, chivalry, trickery and subtlety. Many examples from contemporary Europe as well as campaigns of Scipio, Hannibal and Hanno. A truly amazing work given the time, the place and the sex of its author. Belies the notion that women did not appreciate war in the Middle Ages, but were only interested in court romance and jewelry.

-----, The Book of the City of Ladies (New York: Penguin 1999). A fine translation of an extraordinary book first written in 1405. Utterly charming, this work uses the device of “a city” peopled by women to destroy many myths of the day concerning women. Among her warrior choices are pagan Queen Semiramis (who married her son as the only man worthy of her, and who conquered Babylon and led an expedition into Ethiopia), the Amazons of Scythia, Queen Themiris (who defeated and decapitated Cyrus the Great), Queen Penthesilea of Amazon fame, and Queen Fredegunde of France. Although wrong about Queen Artemisia (who de Pizan has fighting Xerxes instead of with him), the author shows a powerful and courageous inclination to fight against the “literary misogyny of the mediaeval period.” Honestly, who wouldn’t want to live in this marvelous metaphoric city? The answers were, and are, telling. The author was a most unusual woman herself, earning her livelihood by writing in an age when few women tried or succeeded in doing so.

Kelly DeVries, Joan of Arc: A Military Leader (London: Sutton, 1999). Easy to read and understand, this is the best book I have read focusing on her military accomplishments, concluding “She had completed her mission and sealed it with her blood.” Gives “The Maid” credit for turning around the French military situation (with her successes in the Loire Valley, Reims and Patay) and blames the newly crowned Charles II for a failure to keep using her and her tactics both at Paris and beyond. “Joan of Arc was a soldier plain and simple.” Not too clear on how this farmer’s daughter acquired the skills of warfare, however, leaving us wanting more information. Men in that era literally took years - if not decades - to learn how to fight effectively in medieval warfare.

Kirstin Downey, Isabella: The Warrior Queen (New York: Doubleday, 2014). An in-depth look at “the woman who governs the world from her bed” (i.e. dying of cancer) whose will united Spain, defeated Portugal, recaptured the Emirate of Granada, launched the Inquisition and bankrolled Columbus and led an empire which took \$1.5 billion in gold and silver out of the Americas. Isabella was a devout Catholic who turned back the Moslem tide, was beloved by her people and who forced her husband Ferdinand to excel in battle and to do her bidding even when he tried to demur. “Isabella’s influence on the New World cannot be underestimated.” She truly was “a warrior queen.”

Nora Duff, Matilda of Tuscany (London: Methuen and Company, 1909). This loving, lush portrait from an earlier era does outline the importance of Matilda and her relevance to the Italy of her day. Calling her “the Warrior Mind of the Holy Church,” the author points out her early weapons training, her two suits of armor and her military acumen were all special as was her protection of the Papacy from the designs of the Holy Roman Emperor. She also believes she is most worthy of her inclusion in St. Peters Basilica and Dante’s Canto 28 “Guardian of the Earthly Paradise.”

Nadezhda Durova, The Cavalry Maiden: Journals of Russian Officer in the Napoleonic Wars (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988). Delightful reminiscences of the Russian girl from the Urals who, disguised as a boy, joins the Imperial Army and becomes a lancer in the Polish Regiment and later the Mariupol Hussars, seeing action in 1807 and again 1812-14 in the struggle against Napoleon. “What a life! What a full joyous, active life!... Every day and every hour now I live and feel alive” she says of being a soldier. She fights at Smolensk and Borodino and on the Moscow front. A true warrior and a highly decorated one (Cross of St. George) who writes in a most engaging fashion. Don’t miss this one.

Robert B Edgerton, Warrior Women: The Amazons of Dahomey and the Nature of War (Boulder: Westview, 2000). The most scholarly and inclusive account of the Amazons of Dahomey, accenting their small unit cohesion, their vigorous training, their in-group bonding and their elite status as warriors without sex. If one became pregnant, she was tortured until she revealed the cause and both were then killed. Covers their participation in the slave trade and as worthy opponents of the French Foreign Legion as late as 1890’s.

Susan Edgington and Sarah Lambert (eds.), Gendering the Crusades (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). An exciting reappraisal of the role of women during the crusades which finds them far more central to the process than heretofore acknowledged. See especially, Karen Caspri-Reisfeld “Woman Warriors during the Crusades, 1095-1254.” Despite church policy, women played extensive roles in sieges, invasions, looting and other warrior aspects, including as archers. Much evidence from Moslem sources in various battles from Antioch to Acre makes this an excellent and provocative source.

Michael Edwardes, Red Year: The Indian Rebellion of 1857 (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1973). Interesting account of the role played by the Rani of Jhansi in the uprising and quotes the General who defeated her in battle, Sir Hugh Rose, who called her “the bravest and best of the military leaders of the rebellion” after she was killed in action during the Battle of Gwalior.

Elizebeth A. Eldredge, “The ‘Mfecane’ Revisited,” Journal of African History #33, pp. 1-35. A devastating critique of the previous revisionist arguments concerning the Mfecane. Very germane background for any study of the rise of Mmanthasatsi (sometimes Manthatsi) and her “Horde.” For a more traditional explanation of the Mfecane and some of the subsequent literature about it, see Leonard Thompson, “The Zulu Kingdom and the Mfecane,” in his A History of South Africa (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 80-87. Note, in Sesotho, Mfecane is translated “Difaqane.” This study also provides a broader examination of Manthatsi, whose Tolokwa clan of the Sotho people formed the basis of her horde.

Note: Elsewhere, Thompson makes the point that there were actually three “hordes” operating at the same time for some of this period. See Leonard Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson (eds.), The Oxford History of South Africa Vol. I (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 391-405.

Jean Elshtain, Women and War (New York: Basic Books, 1987). Focusing on the “seduction” of war, she sees women as “the ferocious few and the non-combatant many” and men as “the militant many and the pacific few.” Argues that women don’t belong in combat (or men either, if she had her druthers).

Cynthia Enloe, “Paying Close Attention to Women Inside Militaries,” in her Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make

the Link (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), pp. 63-92. This work serves as a counter-balance to the assumptions of both Bowdoin graduates Sage Santangelo and Katie Petronio (cited above) that service in the military is *ipso facto* liberating if women are treated as equals within it. In fact, Enloe argues that “a less militarized military would be one less imbued with an institutional culture of masculinized violence” and instead would (and should) place more emphasis on rescuing civilians from natural disasters worldwide.

-----, Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007). Based on her Tokyo lectures on the eve of the U.S. invasion of Iraq, the author uses the device of “a feminist curiosity” to declare a link between globalization and militarization. She also argues that the woman soldier should not simply be a globalized version of the “modern woman” but should instead push for “a less militarized military (which) would be less imbued with an institutional culture of masculinized violence.”

-----, Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives (London: South End Press, 1983). Although much of this work is quite dated in terms of specifics and, one could argue, shows a complete misreading of the reasons for the original Amazon legends (the Greeks rightly feared their style of warfare as well as their gender), nevertheless, some of the chapters such as “The Military Needs Camp Followers” and “Some of the Best Soldiers Wear Lipstick” raise important issues. Still, one wonders whether one of her core statements, “Women are being used by militaries to solve their nagging problems of manpower availability, quality, health, morale and readiness” might be made even more relevant by changing or adding “and men” to the quote. What do you think? Unfortunately there is almost nothing here on women warriors qua warriors.

-----, Maneuvers; The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). Noting that “Women *in* the military has never been an easy topic,” the author argues it shouldn’t be. “Sexism, patriotism, violence and the state – it is a heady brew. The author looks the many impacts of war on many women – prostitutes, rape victims, mothers, wives, nurses and feminist activists.” Concerned about masculinity and militarism, her Chapter Seven studies “Filling the Ranks,” how and when women are recruited.

John Ewers, “Deadlier Than the Male,” American Heritage, Vol. 16, #4 (1965). Despite its hyperbolic and inaccurate title, this work is a short, pithy article introducing Elk Hollering in the Water, the Blackfeet woman warrior, The Other Magpie, the Crow, and Woman Chief of the Gros Ventre (but raised as a Crow), and Running Eagle, the Blackfeet. Suggests that female participation in war and raids was more widespread than previously understood or acknowledged. Young brides, for example, often went with their new husbands on raids. Note also how Running Eagle was thought to have been killed because she violated her oath of celibacy, a widespread projection of male values upon even women warriors as obviously no similar prohibition existed for male warriors.

Lorry Fenner and Marie deYoung, Women in Combat: Civic Duty or Military Liability (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2001). Two articulate authors give the pros and cons for American women being used in combat. They both have extensive military experience: Fenner is an Air Force intelligence officer and favors opening up all aspects of military service to women, while deYoung, an Army chaplain, opposes this on many grounds, arguing the recent surge for their use is based purely on political correctness, not a dispassionate examination of all of its dimensions.



Ilene R. Feinman, Citizen Rites: Feminist Soldiers and Feminist Antimilitarists (New York: New York University Press, 2000). According to the author, feminist anti-militarism relies on the fundamental connection between patriarchy and war, while feminist egalitarian militarism accents the notion that women can be as good as men in the “be all you can be” ethos of the military. Declaring that “War is no longer a dick thing,” she argues that “women have fought long and hard for inclusiveness and respect in the realm of martial citizenship” and also that liberal feminists hope to democratize the military.

Nic Fields, Boudicca’s Rebellion AD 60-61 (Oxford: Osprey, 2011). Fine details and maps of the rebellion and some good commentary. Ends up asking the question “Why do men fear women warriors so much?” and puts Boudica’s rebellion in the long line of such sentiments going back to the original “Amazonian” concerns of the ancient Greeks.

Will Fowler, Eastern Front: The Unpublished Photographs 1941-1945 (St. Paul: MBI Publishing, 2001). One of the best collections of primarily Soviet photographs of the war (although it contains some pictures of Germans and Romanians as well). Many shots of the wide-tracked T-34 and other Soviet equipment (even a shot of a downed American B-17). There is also a much needed emphasis on often overlooked battles such as the Crimea and Oder campaigns as well as women and partisans in battle (in these cases closely watched by the NKVD). The shots of women in wartime action on behalf of the Soviet Union are most engaging and show their centrality to the war effort. Taken in context, they provide stunning evidence of women warriors in daily combat during World War II.

Linda Bird Francke, Ground Zero: The Gender Wars in the Military (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997). This book looks

at the ways in which an element of society and the military tried to restrict the role of women in the military, but how over time the stereotypes of males as protectors and women as caregivers lost some of their power.

Antonia Fraser, The Warrior Queens (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1990). Well written, erudite and entertaining with a kaleidoscope of historical, psychological and sociological references. Queen Boadicea, Elizabeth I, Catherine the Great and the Rani of Jhansi all are colorfully described. Who says women can't be as ruthless as men, in battle as well as elsewhere? Not this author. Contains interesting sub-themes about the role of sexuality in the depiction of warrior queens. They are depicted either as voracious breakers of norms or virginal upholders of them, depending on one's perspective.

Deborah Gera, Warrior Women: The Anonymous Tractatus de Mulieribus (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997). Based on six pages of an anonymous tract depicting 14 outstanding 5<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, the author expands on these "Women intelligent and Courageous in Warfare" including Zarinara (Parthian), Rhodogyna (Persian), Pheretima (Cyrene), Tomyris (Massagetae) and Artemisia (Halicarnassian).

Daniela Gioseffi (ed.), Women on War (New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2003). A wide ranging collection of authors, celebrating not female warriorhood but female Cassandrahood. Many women from various cultures decry war and exploitation in all its forms.

Nancy Loring Goldman (ed.), Female Soldiers - Combatants or Non Combatants (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982). Gives the reader portraits of women in war (Germany, Russia, Yugoslavia, Vietnam and Israel) and as non-combatants (Greece, Japan,

Denmark, Sweden), ending with an argument for women in combat (Mandy Seal) and against (Jeff Tuten). These last two essays are somewhat overridden by events, but well worth perusing for historical context and values.

J. S. Goldstein, War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). It is estimated that 8% of Soviet armed forces were women and that there were three squadrons of night bombers flown by women. Also, approximately 40% of doctors in the Soviet armed forces were women and many of these served in combat. According to Goldstein's estimates, approximately 1% of all warriors throughout history have been women.

Mary Gordon, Joan of Arc (New York: Viking Penguin, 2002). Although she made none of the major decisions of the various campaigns in which she fought and although she was eventually convicted and burned alive on a charge of being a transvestite, "Is it possible to say that she fought like a knight but otherwise didn't behave like one?" The author answers this question in the affirmative. Still, I can attest that it is hard to beat this story of a woman at war. Joan of Arc was a frightening and overwhelming negative role model for me as a 10 year old boy for I feared I could not live up to her fiery expectations, God or not.

Julie Gottlieb, Feminine Fascism (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000). This interesting study is determined to give "women their due as autonomous historical agents" by looking at "a polyphony of women." Puts a spotlight on some understudied women. Useful appendix.

Susan R. Grayzel, "The Role of Women in the War," in Hew Strachan (ed.), First World War (London: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 149-163. Looking at both individuals and groups, the

author highlights the important work done by them in a variety of venues, including industrial production (40% of Russian, 33% of French) and especially the impact of the war in giving women the vote in Austria, Belgium, Britain, Latvia, Hungary, Lithuania, Germany, Denmark, Netherlands, the United States and Czechoslovakia, among others.

Andrew and Nicola Hallam, Lady Under Fire: The Wartime Letters of Lady Dorothea Fielding MM 1914-1917 (South Yorkshire: Pen and Sword, 2010). Dorothea Fielding was the first English woman to be awarded the Military Medal for bravery in the field. Working as an intrepid ambulance driver, and “dodging shells and misogynist officers,” she showed great compassion and courage under fire and wrote with dry wit: “It’s topping being up near things and so jolly and interesting.” Quite an adventurous role model.

E. Hancock, “Women as Killers and Killing Women: The Implications of ‘Gender Neutral’ Armed Forces” in M. Evans and A. Ryan (eds.) The Human Face of Warfare (St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 2002). Puts in sharp focus a number of the conundrums and differing moral and ethical aspects of “gender neutral” when it comes to warfare.

Kathryn Harrison, Joan of Arc: A Life Transfigured (New York: Doubleday, 2014). An extraordinary work examining in great detail many sources including the thousands of pages from her two trials (one held long after her death to exonerate her), Harrison goes into excellent and telling detail about her military activities and weaves into the narrative a parallel construction of the life of Jesus. Anyone doing a project on Joan of Arc should avail themselves of this source.

David Hay, The Military Leadership of Matilda of Canossa 1046-1115 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008). “The most powerful woman of her time,” Matilda of Canossa led in war and battle for 40 years, putting popes on the throne and keeping them there and defeating the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV in battle at Sorbara (1084) and for six years afterward. Well documented scholarship enables the author to declare her “One of the most successful military commanders of the age.”

Mary Jennings Hegar, Shoot Like a Girl: One Woman’s Dramatic Fight in Afghanistan and On the Home Front (New York: The New American Library, 2017). A bittersweet account of one woman’s fight to fly and fight and the obstacles she faced before, during and after she was wounded in combat during a dramatic rescue mission in Afghanistan. Very telling on the re-entry process and the ongoing pull of the allure of combat as she states categorically, “Nothing I tried could get me that high I’d become addicted to.”

Linda Heywood, Njinga of Angola: Africa’s Warrior Queen (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017). An amazingly rich biography of a strong warrior woman who dominated south central Africa (present day Angola) from 1624-1663. Her military prowess, including a decade long stretch of successful battles both guerilla and set piece (1624-1663), is matched only by her strategic and diplomatic efforts as she played the Portuguese, Dutch and African tribes off against each other, even communicating with Pope Alexander VII. Also noteworthy, is her successful flaunting of gender norms (she took both men and women as lovers and sometimes dressed as a man but made her male lovers dress as women) and her most skillful blending of Mbundu, Impangala (Jaga) and Christian traditions to support her legitimacy.

Melissa Herbert, Camouflage Is Not Only for Combat (New York: New York University Press, 1998). The author argues that the military is a “gendered institution” and as such women are often judged to be either “too masculine” or “too feminine” by that culture. And the military’s masculine ideology will continue to limit women’s participation in military service as long as the military remains a male domain for the achievement of manhood.

Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel and Margaret Collins Weitz (eds.), Behind the Lines: Gender in the Two World Wars (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987). A wide ranging set of essays looking at various war-related impacts on both women and men. The editors declare it is a myth “that men are naturally fierce and warlike while women are mothers and have an affinity for peace.” Central to the work is the trop of Higonnet, “the double helix” (see below) which underscores the “illusory nature of wartime change in World War I and II” and declares “a feminist revision of the *time* in war can make the history of war more sensitive to the full range of experience of both men and women.”

----- and Patrice L. R. Higonnet, “The Double Helix” in Behind the Lines: Gender in the Two World Wars (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 31-47. The authors assert that men and women are two strands of a linked “double helix” in which regardless of the level of either, the female strand is made subordinate. Therefore, it asks and answers the question, “When is change not change?” The social and economic roles of many women undergo rapid and radical transformation both at the onset of war, and, in a symmetrically opposed direction at its conclusion.

Vera Hildebrand, Women at War: Subhas Chandra Bose and the Rani of Jhansi Regiment (New York: Harper Collins, 2016). A

fascinating history of the women who fought in that regiment of the Indian National Army during World War II. Recruited in 1943 from Indian families in Malaya, Singapore, Thailand and other overseas locations, these women and the INA with the Japanese for the independence of India from British rule. Regarded as traitors by the British, the INA members became heroes and heroins to many Indians especially after 1947. Named for the 1857 Rani of Jhansi, the unit was involved in fighting at the Battle of Imphal and eventually retreated all the way from Rangoon to Bangkok during 1844-1945.

Richard Hingley and Christina Unwin, Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen (London: Hambledon and London, 2005). Calling Boudica “a woman of many faces,” the authors point out how she is at once an actual ruler, an imperial icon and an impediment to Rome’s declared “civilizing” mission. They urge us to look to archeology for the foundation of facts.

Jean Holm, Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution (Novato: Presidio, 1982). This Air Force major general provides an extensive history of women and the military from World War I through the first Gulf War, arguing that women should be allowed to take their rightful place in combat.

Kirsten Holmstedt, Band of Sisters: American Women at War in Iraq (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole, 2007). The author looks carefully at the experience of women Marines and finds that most felt they were just doing their job, but with more than 500 women killed or wounded in the Iraq wars, more of them were clearly in combat than many in American society understood at the time or even now.

-----, The Girls Come Marching Home: Stories of Women Warriors Returning from War in Iraq (Mechanicsburg:

Stackpole, 2009). Pointing out that the 2003 war in Iraq sufficiently blurred the lines between combat and non-combat for women, the author captures both their rising to the occasion and the often heart-wrenching nature of their return. In fact, her interviews of these Marine, Navy, Army and Air Force veterans as well as the writing of the book produced a post-traumatic stress-like disorder in Holmstedt for which she had to seek medical treatment. Powerful. To put the return of these specific women and this specific war in the broader context of all returning warriors since the time of Homer, see C. P. Potholm, “The Return of the Warriors” in his Understanding War (Lanham: University Press of America, 2016), Chapter 38, pp. 575-582.

Maureen Honey, Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender and Propaganda during World War II (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984). Shows how World War II got women into the workforce and ended much prejudice about women performing certain jobs through propaganda. But it also shows how after the war, the return to the nuclear family overrode some of the gains, albeit not all.

Georgina Howell, Gertrude Bell: Queen of the Desert, Shaper of Nations (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007). Billed as “the driving force behind the creation of Iraq,” this remarkable woman was the first female officer in the history of modern British intelligence and served with distinction during World War I. King Faisal said she had “a genius for war” and she did. See especially the chapters, “War Work” and “Cairo, Delhi, Basra.” Gives a good glimpse into the sacrifices made by the peoples of the British Empire to the World War I effort – 192,000 were killed, captured or “went missing” and 300,000 were recruited from India alone.

Stephen Hunter, Sniper’s Honor (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1914) (F). Women warriors continue to fascinate, witness this



novel centered around a Soviet sniper from World War II, nicknamed “The White Witch,” Ludmilla “Mili” Petrova.

Duong Thu Huong, Novel Without A Name (New York: William Morrow, 1995) (F). An absorbing and deeply depressing Vietnamese novel about war in the jungle, lost youth and the immense problem of keeping one’s humanity in the middle of a struggle without end: “In times of war, the future belongs to the combatants.” She concludes with “Chants of the months, of the years spent in the Truong Son Mountains. Soldier, the dawn is icy. You fall under the bullets. On the white of the parachute cloth, I see your blood spreading.” Powerful and evocative, a fitting counter to “the glories of war,” whether in a revolutionary context or not.

Nancy Huston, The Matrix of War: Mothers and Heroes in Susan Rubin Suleiman, The Female Body in Western Culture (Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1986). The author cautions that “Eliminating women from reproduction and integrating them into destruction tends to obfuscate the psycho-historical matrix of war, and may prevent us from ever understanding it sufficiently to bring it to an end.”

Sherrie Inness, Tough Girls: Women Warriors and Wonder Women in Popular Culture (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998). Our society seems to expect a great deal of women. And it is not always easy to fulfill those expectations.

Douglas Jackson, Hero of Rome (New York: Corgi Books, 2011) (F). Boudica’s rebellion seen through the somewhat sympathetic eyes of the Roman legionnaire Valerius. Grudging respect for Celtic warcraft.

Tami Amanda Jacoby, Women in Zones of Conflict: Power and Resistance in Israel (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005). "The Campaign for Women in Combat in Israel" portion of the work effectively documents the way the entry of women into combat positions overturned much bias against them, in "the last bastion of male privilege in the modern world."

Richard Johnson, "The Role of Women in the Russian Civil War (1917-1921)," Conflict, Vol. 2 #2 (1980), pp. 201-217. Over 70,000 women fought in the Russian Civil War and "The contribution women made to the military victory of the Red Army was considerable." (pp. 207-208).

Steven Johnson, "The Longest War: Vietnam's War of Independence from 111BC - 938 AD," in his Unknown Wars of Asia, Africa and the Americas That Changed History (New York: Atlas, 2013). This work contains an exciting story of the Trung sisters and their fight against the Han Chinese. They led an uprising which was 1/3 women and their initial successes in 39 AD were spectacular although the Hans eventually returned and crushed the revolt.

David Jones, Women Warriors: A History (Washington: Brassey's, 1997). Female warrior heritage is celebrated and judged to be deeper and richer than previously thought, the author concluding, "Women can share equally with men the title of warrior." Looking at "The Female Martial Heritage" across time and space, the author concludes "Women's martial history is much richer and deeper by far than is commonly understood in the West." For many women "The sword is my child." Good section on the World War I and Russia's all-female "Battalions of Death" which fought for the Czar and the Provisional Government.

Note: See Anne Eliot Griesse and Richard Stites, “Russia: Revolution and War,” in Nancy Loring Goldman (ed.) Female Soldiers - Combatants or Non Combatants (reviewed above) which provides a most interesting vignette. On October 25, 1917, a detachment of a Petrograd women’s battalion helped defeat the Provisional government and turn back a Bolshevik (including women in the Red Guards) attempt to storm the Winter Palace.

Gwyn Jones (translator), The Norse Atlantic Saga (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). Note especially the account of Freydis Eiriksdottir, the Viking woman warrior who drove off the Skraelings by sharpening a sword on her bare breast while pregnant, berating the Viking men who were being bested by the Skraelings. The Skraelings fled and the Viking men were presumably embarrassed and ashamed. As well they should have been.

Joyce Kaufman and Kristen William, Women at War, Women Building Peace: Challenging Gender Norms (Boulder: Kumarian Press, 2013). Argues that women now expect to play major roles in war as well as peace. Looks at women as agents of resistance and political violence as well as peace-making. Case studies from Northern Ireland, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and Sri Lanka.

Thomas Keneally, Daughters of Mars (New York: Atria Books, 2013) (F). Two sister nurses go to Gallipoli and the Western Front and confront a deluge of casualties, the horrors of war and the self-exploration. This novel captures the ongoing impact of war across time and space.

Heinrich Kleist, Penthesilea (New York: Harper/Collins, 1998) (F). A new translation of the 1808 play. An army of one-breasted women (the better to shoot their bows) arrives in the middle of the Trojan War. Penthesilea, daughter of Ares and Queen of the

Amazons, shows carnal lust for Achilles (“her beloved enemy”) and convinces him she wishes to marry him. While one seldom feels sorry for Achilles in real life, his final words in this play as she hunts him down and, together with her dogs, tears him apart and then devours portions of him. Surely he deserves our consideration and sympathy when he cries, “Penthesilea! My Bride! What are you doing? Is this the rosy feast you promised me?” Penthesilea then kills herself. This play is not for the faint of heart, but it underscores the ongoing fascination with a true daughter of Mars and how she seems to upset the balance of the “natural” order in the minds of many (perhaps including some of us).

Dr. Heidi Kraft, Rule Number Two: Lessons I Learned in a Combat Hospital (New York: Little Brown, 2007). I have read hundreds and hundreds of books about war and occasionally I’ve gotten choked up or even cried a bit, but reading this book I cried a lot and deeply too. It’s an extraordinary work. The author, takes her cue from the Korean War TV show and film, M\*A\*S\*H, which stated “There are two rules of war. Rule number one is that young men die. Rule number two is that doctors can’t change rule number one.” Without melodrama or forced pathos, Kraft describes young Marines dying in her arms and warriors, men and women, young and old, breaking down under the strain of combat and the loss of comrades, feeling ashamed for feeling fear or for surviving while buddies did not. And how she, a devoted mother of two small children, copes half way around the world from them. A warrior’s warrior she seems to me. And a powerful voice against war.

Kathleen Khuhnast, Chantal de Jorge Oudraat, and Helga Hernes, Woman and War (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2011). This wide ranging volume helps us to understand how gender sculpts conflict causing women to suffer a great

deal more than normal through increased rapes, sexual violence, lost economic opportunities and the like.

Krishna Kumar (ed.), Women and Civil War (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishing, 2000). A potpourri of essays covering “a vast territory” including Rwanda, Cambodia, Georgia, Guatemala, El Salvador and Bosnia.” They fight and in many cases, seem to play a significant role. Why are these women not more widely celebrated in the polyphony of women’s histories?

Richard Lapchick and Stephanie Urbang, Oppression and Resistance: The Struggle of Women in Southern Africa (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982). A look at women in the struggle to liberate Southern Africa with introductory observations at their efforts in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Strangely silent on their role in *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, the “Spear of the Nation,” however.

Gayle Tzemach Lemmon, Ashley’s War: The Untold Story of a Team of Women Soldiers on the Special Ops Battlefield (New York: Harper, 2015). Poignant account of Ashley White, a member of the “Cultural Support Teams” in Afghanistan, killed in battle. Her training, integration into a traditionally male-only Special Forces unit and her untimely death are all sketched here.

Elizabeth Leonard, All the Daring of the Soldier: Women of the Civil War Armies (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999). A wide ranging account of “Spies,” “Half-Soldier Hero’s” and “A Host of Women Soldiers.” Forerunner of They Fought Like Demons, this work contains interesting accounts of how women got around recruitment examinations, many of which were cursory or nonexistent.

Isaac Levine, My Life as Peasant, Officer and Exile: The Life of Maria Bochkareva (New York: Frederick Stokes, 1919). A truly amazing tale of a young woman who survived extreme poverty, abusive men, and incarceration to find liberation of a kind in the Russian armed forces during World War I after partitioning the Czar to let her go into the army. Wounded a number of times, she eventually was selected to lead the all-female “Battalion of Death” during 1917. After the revolution broke out, she tried to fight the Bolsheviks, meeting Kerensky, Kornilov, Lenin and Trotsky along the way. Although she eventually made it to America via Vladivostok, she ultimately returned to Russia, only to be captured and killed by the Bolsheviks.

Kathryn M. Linduff and Karen Robinson (eds.), Are All Warriors Male? (Lanham: Altamira Press, 2008). Scholarly anthropological studies of the Eurasian steppe Iron Age graves from the Black Sea to Afghanistan, Northern Kazakhstan, Western Siberia and Xiongnu says, emphatically, “No.” This work uses archaeological evidence from prehistory to look at the woman warrior in fact and fiction, coming up with plenty of evidence that Xena the Warrior Princess was not *sui generis* and had many real antecedents. Grave sites and grave goods are “living” proof. There is a reason contemporary culture carries the image of strong, powerful women righting wrong and fighting evil.

Drew Lindsay, “Why Not Send Women to War?” MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History Vol. 25 #3 (2013), pp. 50-61. A wide ranging study from ancient times through World War II and the wars of decolonization, concluding “...some people will never accept women in battle - at least, that is, until women are needed.”

Pasi Loman, “No Woman, No War: Women’s Participation in Ancient Greek Warfare,” Greece and Rome, Vol. 51, No. 1 (April,

2004), pp. 34-54. The author argues that far from being victims or mere spectators, women in Ancient Greece were not pacifist by nature and often showed strong support for a variety of wars.

Lois Ann Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin (eds.), The Women and War Reader (New York: New York University Press, 1998). A variety of essays concerning war's impact on women (and in some, men as well) taken from Bosnia, Korea, Israel, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Mozambique, Afghanistan, India and Pakistan as well as the United States. Unfortunately there is neither an introduction nor a conclusion, so the various essays float unattached and episodic.

John Lynn, "Women in War," Military History (October 2001), pp. 60-66. A short, stimulating look at female camp followers in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, describing how the armies of the day often had a nearly 1-1 ratio of men to women and children and "great crowds of women and children were not unusual; they were the rule." They carried food and clothing, treated the sick and wounded, participated in the looting and protected its rewards for "Pillage was also the business of the army."

-----, Women, Armies and Warfare in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). See especially Chapter IV "Warrior Women: Cultural Phenomena, Intrepid Soldiers and Stalwart Defenders." Good, in-depth accounts of women participating in warfare at a variety of levels and in a variety of ways. Many specific cases are illustrated.

Marianne Mackinnon, The Naked Years: Growing up in Nazi Germany (London: Chatto and Windus, 1987). An engaging tale of a young woman drawn into war, serving in the Hitler Youth, drafted into the *Organisation Todt* doing farm and construction work and narrowly escaping death in the Dresden firebombing

raid. She fortunately ended up in the British sector after the war, ultimately arriving in Oxford.

Emily St. John Mandel, Station Eleven (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2014) (F). A marvelous, inventive dystopian novel with women leaders (“The Symphony”) and women warriors of note (Kirsten). Note: women do not always have to be “macho” to be true warriors.

Herman Mann, The Female Review: Life of Deborah Sampson, The Female Soldier in the War of the Revolution (Boston: J. I. K. Wiggin, 1866 reprint of the 1796 edition). “The American Rebellion Was a Great Event” says this work and she was in it. At 22 she, pretending to be her dead brother, joined a regiment, the Light Infantry Company of the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment, fought in a number of battles (including Tarrytown), was wounded (not discovered), but then became ill (discovered) and mustered out with an honorary discharge. Ended up very poor thereafter, but proud of her service.

Roger Marwick and Eridice Cardona, Soviet Women in the Frontlines of the Second World War (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012). Richly displayed, it covers the 1 million women the authors claim fought for the Soviet Union during World War II, including partisans (28,000), the Night Witches and Falcons and the 1st Volunteer Rifle Brigade (first all-women’s brigade since the revolution). These *frontovichki* fought long and bravely. You will be very sad finding out the fate of the returning warriors of the USSR, but especially those who were tragically paralyzed.

Arthur Marwick, Women at War 1914-1918 (London: Fontana, 1977). Using “the Great Spotlight of War” to show the myriad contributions made by British women during World War I, the author shows the wide range of activities from munitions work to



the Women's Forage Department, to the Voluntary Aid Detachments (VAD) and the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) and their huge overall contribution to the war effort. Argues that these contributions greatly enhanced the progress of the suffragette movement. Finely illustrated.

Robert Massie, Catherine the Great (New York: Random House, 2012). Fascinating woman, fascinating account of her life, especially her actions promoting the Russian empire. The expansion of Russia into Poland and to the Black Sea set the stage for further expansion in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, all the way to the Pacific. Interesting dynamic of the backward portions of Russia and their spectrum flow into new lands. Also good on the political machinations of Frederick the Great, France, England and Austria in the Seven Years War and beyond. This was a woman who reigned, ruled and drove her country onward. See especially Catherine as military strategist and leader in "The First Partition of Poland and the First Turkish War" and "The Second Turkish War and the Death of Potemkin."

Gustave Masson, The Story of Medieval France (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893). See Chapter 13, "Charles VII – End of the Hundred Years War," for a 19<sup>th</sup> century take on La Pucelle and Charles VII.

Jerry Matney and D.A. Gordon, Woman War Chief: The Story of a Crow Warrior (Bloomington: First Books, 2002). A long, thinly disguised praise poem about Woman Chief, the Gros Ventres woman who was captured by the Crows at age 10 and grew to womanhood with them. She worked hard to master the arts of soldiering and became a first class warrior especially against the Blackfeet. She was invited to join the Big Dog Society, normally an honor reserved only for males, becoming a rare woman chief

and taking that name. Ironically she was eventually ambushed and killed by a Gros Ventres raiding party.

Adrienne Mayor, The Amazons: Lives and Legends of Warrior Women Across the Ancient World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014). Holistic, scholarly, well-illustrated, overarching and multidisciplinary, this is the work on Amazons which must be consulted by those doing any research on this fascinating subject. Both the realities and the myths are breathtaking. Most illuminating is her close examination of the 1000 years of history across 4000 miles of geography from the Don Basin to China, concluding, “Between Greece and China stretched the vast homeland of nomadic horsewomen archers, the equals of men, whose heroic lives and deeds inspired awe, fear, respect, and desire in all who knew them.”

Louis K. Merry, Women Military Pilots of World War II: A History with Biographies of American, British, Russian and German Aviators (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, 2011). Students find this work especially helpful. Some were astonished that no African American women pilots were mentioned despite so many African American men serving in the armed forces. Provides a good overview of what happened with a useful evaluation of many female pilots memoirs. Some good biographical material at the end.

Molly Merryman, Clipped Wings: The Rise and Fall of the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP's) of World War II (New York: New York University Press, 1998). These women brought thousands of planes from factory to ports but were denied military status at the end of the war. Students find this most unfair and justly so.

Madeline Miller, The Song of Achilles (New York; Harper-Collins, 2012) (F). Putting Achilles in a homo-erotic frame due to his love of Patroclus, the author accounts for his success with speed (shades of John Boyd, great American strategist of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and his OODA loop), and “the best warrior of his generation” who goes on to immortality in story and song. Achilles is not frightened of war for “It was what I was born for.” This account of Achilles can certainly help us understand how important the legend of Penthesilea was (and remains) from a feminist perspective because Achilles alone among the Greek warriors could kill her in mortal combat. So many exegetes have missed the symbolic vitality of her killer, it is worth pondering why.

Molly Moore, A Woman at War (New York: Scribner's, 1993). The author, a reporter for the Washington Post, had access to General Walter Boomer, commander of the Marine expeditionary force and thus was on the inside of many of the key field decisions of the First Gulf War. Written at a time when it was still unusual for American women to be at war and writing about it up close and personal. Clearly shows women in harm's way and worthy of equal opportunity to remain so *if* they so choose.

Robert Mugabe, Women's Liberation in the Zimbabwean Revolution (San Francisco: John Brown Book Club, 1979). See especially pp. 14-16 “The Armed Struggle Stage,” for the role of the Special Women's Detachment of the Zimbabwe National Liberation Army.

Rosaria Munson, Artemisia in Herodotus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). Properly puts Artemisia in historical perspective and emphasizes the symbolic role of Artemisia which goes far beyond “a woman in battle.” It would seem that her story should be part of feminist canon but for some reason is not.

Kate Muir, Arms and Women (London: Sinclair-Stevenson Publishing, 1992). An overview of the usual suspects but with some useful historical background.

Clare Mulley, The Spy Who Loved: The Secrets and Lives of Christine Granville (New York; St. Martin's Press, 2013). The absorbing story of a Polish woman (born Christine Skarbek) who served various spy organizations before, during and after World War II and undertook some extremely dangerous missions into Nazi occupied Europe, including Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and France. Makes a strong case for the importance of the resistance in Poland and the fact that Poland provided more support for Great Britain than previously credited. Christine was ultimately killed by a man who "loved" her, but felt that killing her was the ultimate way of controlling this woman who lived her life to the fullest: without boundaries and without remorse. In this sense, her tale is a sad reminder of the problems many men have with independent women and why control issues lie at the heart of so many domestic violence issues.

Bruce Myles, Night Witches: The Untold Story of Soviet Women in Combat (Chicago: Academy Press, 1997). A fascinating story of the Soviet women who flew against the Germans during World War II. Features women who dropped bombs, provided close air support and assistance to partisans and ground forces and especially those in the "free hunter" units who targeted German aircraft. Many personal stories of women in action are presented. Anyone interested in the subject of women in combat should read this work, for it is a soaring paean to women as heroes.

Amy Nathan, Yankee Doodle Gals: The Women Pilots of World War II (Washington: National Geographic Society, 2001). Lavishly illustrated and breezily written, this paean to the WASP's (Women Airforce Service Pilots), reports that 25,000 applied, 1102

served and 38 died. They towed targets for male pilots to shoot at and also delivered 12,000 aircraft of 77 kinds (including the “tough-to-fly biggies” the B-25, B-17 and especially the B-29) to the major theatres of war. These “gals” delivered the goods and deserve high praise. They deserved much better than they received at the end of the war.

Mary Lou Colbert Neale, “Women of War,” Military History (December, 1993), pp. 35 ff. Astonishingly enough, 800,000 Soviet women served at the front during World War II. This short article gives a good overview of what they did including most of the roles normally reserved for males in the American military of the period. Contains a very interesting interview with “Tamar Pamyatnikh, Soviet Heroine.” There is perhaps not much to honor about the Soviet system, but their need for warriors gives us a powerful example of how successful women can be when given a chance women are denied in other societies.

Tim Newark, Women Warriors (London: Blandford, 1989). From Amazons of legend and fact to Jeanne Countess of Montfort and Christine de Pizan, female military leaders are examined. A useful introduction for those not used to seeing women in battle. See especially the chapters, “The True Amazons,” “Amazons of the Jungle,” “Braver than her Husband,” “Celtic Queens,” “Women of Christ” and “Hundred Years War Women.”

Sharon Newman, Defending the City of God (New York: Palgrave, 2014). A useful look at Melisende, the first hereditary queen of Jerusalem (who was *Melisende Regina Sola* from 1143-1149). Offers insights into what it took to be a Christian female ruler in a sea of Moslems and predatory male Christians. “A true ruler.”

David Nicolle, Yarmuk AD 636: The Muslim Conquest of Syria (Oxford: Osprey Publications, 1994), pp. 70-71. Contains an

engaging portrait of Hind Bint ‘Utba, mother of the future Caliph Mu’awiyah who, at the battle of Yarmuk leads other women in rallying the Muslims when the Byzantines reach the Muslim camp. Contains a great admonishment from the camp followers:

We are the daughters of the Night;  
We move among the cushions,  
With the grace of gentle kittens  
Our bracelets on our elbows.  
If you attack we shall embrace you;  
And if you retreat we will forsake you  
With a loveless separation. (p. 72).

Anne Noggle, A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II (College Station: Texas A and M University Press, 1995). A big, bold and exciting story of the Soviet pilots who were female. A gripping tale, especially the sections on the female night fighters. They were true warriors by any measure.

Wale Ogunyemi, Queen Amina of Zazzau (Ibadan: University Press PLC, 1999). Another male author obsessed with the legend of Amina’s taking a young man to bed whenever her army captured a city and then killing him in the morning. This play does celebrate her warcraft as well, however, calling Amina “A strategist for all times.” It would be interesting if her tale were told in high school to boys and girls, and their teachers, men and women.

Organization of Angolan Women, Angolan Women Building the Future: From National Liberation to Women’s Emancipation (London: Zed books, 1984). This somewhat polemical work suggests the validity of “the double helix” dynamics of women’s suppression offered by Margaret Higonnet (see above).

Note: For a more scholarly and holistic treatment of the decolonization struggle and liberation of Angola, see John Marcum, The Angolan Revolution Volume I - The Anatomy of an Explosion (1950-1962) (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969) and especially The Angolan Revolution Volume II - Exile Politics and Guerilla Warfare (1962-1976) (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1978).

Iris Origo, War in Val D'Orcia 1943-1944 (Boston: David R. Godine, 1947). A touching, illuminating and very satisfying diary account of an English woman married to an Italian and living on a Tuscan property with dozens of farms and a castle. Amazing chaos in Italy after the King turns sides (July 1943) but doesn't join the Allies until the Germans have taken a measure of control, especially over the Italian armed forces. An almost unbelievable situation with refugees, escaped Allied prisoners, partisans, Fascists, Fascist militias, monarchists, communists, deserters (both German/Austrian and Italian as well as false German/Italian ones) roaming around and all coming to her household for food, clothing, shelter and often directions (a Moroccan escaped POW is headed north instead of south). Lots of ineffectual Allied bombing is recorded as well. This is a fine read.

Reina Pennington, Wings, Women and War (Topeka: University Press of Kansas, 2007). Women aviators deserve more publicity than they have received. This book is a start. There are quite a few superlative, if relatively unknown, Russian and German female pilots.

-----, "Reaching for the Sky: Hanna Reitsch and Melitta Schiller," in The Military History Quarterly (Autumn 2009), pp. 33-43. Two of Hitler's favorite pilots, one of whom was Jewish, were female. An amazing story of virtue rewarded and unrewarded, a cautionary tale on many levels.

Captain Katie Petronio, “Get Over It! We’re Not All Created Equal,” in Marine Corps Gazette (July 2012), pp. 29-32. A recent Bowdoin graduate, after serving tours of duty in Iraq and Afghanistan, concludes that women should NOT be placed in ALL combat situations. Her personal experience is cogent.

Gerhard Pollauer, The Lost History of the Amazons (New York: Didactic Press, 2014). This work ransacks antiquity and the Middle Ages to find stories of and evidence for Amazonian warfare.

Christian P. Potholm, Winning at War (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2010). Analyzes the seven ingredients necessary for success in warfare regardless of time or place. These include: superior discipline, superior technology, sustained but controlled ruthlessness, protection of capital from people and rulers, superior will, receptivity to innovation, and the belief there will always be another war. Students should consult this work when doing their research papers to help explain the success or failure of particular women warriors and warrior queens by putting them in broader contexts. Some aspects of the nature of warfare change throughout history even though the ingredients for success do not.

James Powell, “The Role of Women in Fifth Crusade,” in B. Kedar (ed.) The Horns of Hattin (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992). Shows how women served in many capacities, including that of guards, and fought Muslims at the siege of Darnietta.

Grace Pratt, “Female War Chiefs of the Blackfeet,” Frontier Times (1971), pp. 22-23, 46. Despite the claims of others, the Blackfeet did have women warriors, including Running Eagle who, born Brown Eagle, worked her way up into the Braves’ Society by counting coup and fighting the Crows. Eventually killed in battle by the Flatheads.



Richard Pressfield, The Last of the Amazons (New York: Doubleday, 2002) (F). This tale portrays the Amazons as beset by “bad” Greeks such as Heracles and Theseus who envy and fear their free-wheeling lifestyles and the prominence of their women leaders. Most useful in providing the Greek perspective on Amazons, i.e. their exploits end badly versus the much more positive perspectives of the Central Asian peoples who portray Amazons who often triumph in warfare no matter how much myth and cosmology the Greeks bring to bear.

Sayyid Ahmad-Ullah Qadri, Memoires of Chand Bibi the Princess of Ahmednagar (Hyderabad: The Osmania University Press, 1939). A long praise poem to the Sultana who lived from 1550 to 1599 and fought off the Mughals and put down various rebellions, ultimately taking her own life by filling a well with acid and then jumping into it as the Mughals closed in. Other accounts have her killed by her own troops for negotiating with the same Mughals.

Quintus of Smyrna, The Trojan Epic Posthomerica, trans. Alan James (Baltimore: John’s Hopkins University Press, 2004). Written 1000 years after the Iliad, but based on a long oral tradition, it was compiled by Quintus of Smyrna (on the west coast of Asia Minor) and covers what happens after the death of Hector and the Odyssey. Book One accents the warrior and daughter of Mars, Penthesileia, and her death at the hands of Achilles.

Dark Rain and James Thom, Warrior Woman (New York: Ballantine, 2003) (F). Despite the title this is actually about the life of Nohelna, the Shawnee woman chief who actually worked hard for peace and ended up aiding the American Long Knives. Odd title then.

Countess Ranfurly, To War with Whitaker: The Wartime Diaries of the Countess of Ranfurly 1939-1945 (London: William

Heinemann, 1994). Bound and determined to follow her husband to war, the Countess keeps a most engaging diary as she helps to make war in the Mediterranean theatre, meeting Wingate, Wavell, Eden, Churchill, Auchinleck, Patton, kings of Greece, England and Egypt and many others while her poor husband languishes in Italy as a prisoner of war, having been captured in the Western Desert early in the war. He later escapes and joins her. This is one resourceful woman. Some of her revelations are quite arresting and even amusing as when she reports that General Maitland “Jumbo” Wilson goes duck hunting in the Nile Delta, he and his party shooting 2,300 ducks in a single day! Jumbo later becomes Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean Theatre and subsequently, Ambassador to the United States.

Roger Reese, “Soviet Women at War,” Military History (May 2011), pp. 44-53. Soviet women, motivated by patriotism and revenge proved themselves in battle, not just as medics and battlefield surgeons, but as machine gunners, snipers and pilots as well. Women in combat were all volunteers and training was often more rigorous than for men.

Stephen W. Richey, Joan of Arc: The Warrior Saint (Westport: Praeger, 2003). See especially his extensive study of her military accomplishments (both strategic and tactical) in Chapter 6 “Joan’s Achievements as a Military Leader,” pp. 45-88. He sees her as “an essential factor” in the rise of the Valois dynasty and the ultimate French triumph in the Hundred Years War. Believes her breaking of the siege of Orleans in 1429 was proof positive of her military leadership.

Sherry Robinson, “Lozen” in her Apache Voices (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), pp. 3-15. This work shows how “the myth” is real and that “Woman Warrior” Lozen

who “could ride, shoot and fight like a man” did so effectively with both the Chiricahua Apaches and the Warm Springs Apaches. Even among legendary Apache warriors such as Cochise, Germonimo, Tuh and Victorio, she stood out.

Lucia St. Clair Robson, Ghost Warrior (New York: Forge Books, 2012) (F). Celebrating the life and times of Lozen, a warrior’s warrior, this novel presents her 30 year struggle on behalf of the Dineh. After campaigns in the New Mexican and Arizona territories and the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua, she and her tiny band of 17 are pursued and finally cornered by 9,000 American and Mexican troops and others. “The odds made Lozen proud.” A true and brave warrior well worthy of further study.

Guy Rothery, The Amazons (Charleston: Bibliobazaar, 2014). Seeks to buttress the legends of the Amazons with examination of art works, especially sculpture. Sees Amazons in Central Asia, the Caucasus and Kurdish country as well as Africa and America.

Michael Rustad, Women in Khaki (New York: Praeger, 1982). Using the microcosm of a single American base in West Germany, the author looks at the emergence of the role of enlisted women in the U.S. Army. Notes the rise of women in the military from 1% in 1972 to 8% in 1979. See especially, ‘Her Army,’ pp. 138-180.

Jessica Amanda Salmonson, The Encyclopedia of Amazons: Women Warriors from Antiquity to the Modern Era (New York: Paragon House, 1991). A most thought-provoking collection of historical and mythological references from Aba, the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE warrior daughter of Xenophanes, to Zoulvisia of Armenian legend, they are all here. A treasure trove to stimulate your exploration of women warriors throughout the ages.

Flora Sandes, An English Woman-Sergeant in the Serbian Army (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1917). Going to Serbia during World War I as an ambulance driver, this intrepid English woman eventually joined the Serbian army, fought in the front lines and was wounded. Eventually promoted to lieutenant and given the Serbian Cross (The Order of Karadorde's Star - also won by Milunka Savic) for bravery. This is her account, crisp, positive and often humorous, outlining her military career around Serbia, into Albania and eventually evacuated to Corfu before returning to Serbia. She apparently loved "becoming an ordinary soldier."

Thomas Sankara, Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle (New York: Pathfinder, 2007). The former leader of Burkina Faso (1983-1987), who was assassinated while in power in 1987, using the "Marxist understanding of human society" declares how women are an important part of the struggle for liberation. This work also contains an interesting photo of women anti-aircraft gunners from Angola.

Note: This pattern of military men seizing power and claiming to be inspired by Marxist-Leninism was a widespread phenomenon in Africa during the 1970's and 1980's as they sought to provide instant albeit often superficial legitimacy to their regimes. For a more in-depth look at this pattern, see C. P. Potholm, "Marxist Modernizers" in his The Theory and Practice of African Politics (Englewood: Prentice Hall, 1979), pp. 212-246.

Shelley Saywell, Women in War (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1986). Wide ranging account of women who have fought and led in battle. A lot of interesting vignettes here.

Peter Schalk, "Resistance and Martyrdom in the Process of State Formation of Tamillam" in Joyce Pettigrew (ed.) Martyrdom and Political Resistance (Amsterdam: VU Press, 1997), pp. 61-83.

Useful insights into female fighters among the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam (LTTE). According to the author, women made up a significant number (3000) of the rebels despite there being no women warriors in Tamil history.

Stacy Schiff, Cleopatra: A Life (New York: Little Brown, 2010). A superb analysis of one of the most interesting and intriguing women in history whose true strategic and tactical skill overwhelms her historical image as a courtesan. Schiff uses Cleopatra to give vivid and lasting insights into the world of Rome when it teetered between a Republic and an Empire and the forces for the latter won out.

Note: Interestingly, while classical era writers such as Plutarch blame Cleopatra (citing her “female and Egyptian” attributes) for Mark Anthony’s disastrous defeat at Actium (Greece) in 31 BCE, modern military scholars give her more credit for the strategic decision to escape from that defeat together with the Ptolemaic treasury and her naval squadron (held in reserve) leading the way. See David Califf, Battle of Actium (Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2004) and especially Si Sheppard, Actium 31 BC (Oxford: Osprey, 2009).

James Schultz, Running Eagle: The Warrior Girl (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917) (F). A charming novel making much of the Blackfeet woman in what is now Montana who counted coup and led in battle, ultimately becoming a leading warrior. Eventually she was killed by the Flatheads but not before she etched herself into Native American legend.

Paul Sealey, The Boudican Revolt Against Rome (Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications, 1997). A good account of the sacking of Colchester, London and Verulamium (outside present-day St. Albans) by “Boudican hordes” in 60 CE before

those hordes were in turn crushed by Roman legions in the Midlands in 61 CE. Much archeological evidence is promulgated herein.

Rosemaire Skaine, Women at War; Gender Issues of Americans in Combat (Durham: McFarland and Company, 1999). Wide ranging work dealing with how military service exposes the fault lines of contemporary society, feminism and the demands of the military.

-----, Female Suicide Bombers (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, 2006). Looks at female suicide bombers in Sri Lanka, Chechnya and the Arab world and believes that “This is war, not suicide.” Some interesting case studies.

Kenneth Slepyan, Stalin’s Guerrillas: Soviet Partisans in World War II (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006). Insurgent and partisan in Soviet Union occupied territory, some under the control of Moscow, others not. Useful insights into the day to day struggle against the Germans and their allies, and the tensions within and among partisan banks. See the excellent chapter on “The Crisis of Partisan Identity, 1943” with superb maps on pages 189 and 192. Partisans went from 100,000 to 181,000 during that year. Good section on women partisans can be found in this chapter.

Helen Solterer, “Figures of Female Militancy in Medieval France,” Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Vol. 16, #31 (1991), pp. 522-549. Argues that Li Tournoiement as Dames represents the “disturbing multivalence of the figure of the woman warrior” and thus “It provides a scenario for realizing a female martial ambition.”

Pat Southern, Empress Zenobia: Palmyra’s Rebel Queen (London: Continuum, 2008). See especially the chapters “Septimia Zenobia

Augusta” and “Aurelian and the Roman Recovery.” Palmyrene expansion into Arabia, Egypt and briefly into Asia Minor occurs while the Persians were back on their heels and the Romans were struggling with the invasions of the Goths came a cropper when Aurelian came calling in 272 CE. The Romans won the battles of Immae and Daphne and captured Zenobia as she fled on the camel. Provides lots of alternative sourcing for the sketchy record of Zenobia’s time on earth.

Note: For additional background on Rome and its adversaries in the region see also, David Nicolle, Rome’s Enemies (5) The Desert Frontier (Oxford: Osprey Publications, 1991).

Richard Stites, The Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978). See especially “Women against Women”, pp. 278-316, for complex examination of Russian women in the armed forces and combat during World War I and the Russian Civil War.

Matthew Stibbe, Women in the Third Reich (London: Arnold, 2003). See especially Chapter VII “From Total War to Defeat and Military Occupation” to examine the calumny that “The German soldier fought for six years and the German women for only five months.”

Judith Stiehm (ed.) Women and Men’s Wars (New York: Pergamon Press, 1983). Arguing that “It is men who plan, prepare for, conduct, conclude, describe and define war,” the editor provides a wide set of essays from women on pacifism, women in the military and women in national liberation struggles.

Laurie Stoff, They Fought For the Motherland: Russian’s Women Soldiers in World War I and the Revolution (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2014). Although women fought in World War I

in Russia under the Czar, the huge impetus for women in combat came under the Provisional Government from February to October 1917 when that government created separate all female military units. See especially the chapter, "Russia's First All-Female Combat Unit." As many as 6000 women were involved. Most famous was Maria Bochkareva who was in the 1<sup>st</sup> Russian Women's Battalion of Death. Called "The Russian Joan of Arc," she fought for the Provisional Government and was wounded numerous times, eventually being captured by the Bolsheviks and made it to the U.S. by way of Siberia, only to return later, begging the British and later Admiral Kolchak to let her fight. This time she was captured by the Bolsheviks (when Kolchak abandoned Tomsk) and shot May 16, 1920. All told, 80,000 women fought for Russia in World War I and the Revolution. The Bolsheviks kept women in the army, but broke up the sexually segregated units and integrated them into their male units. Note also, the author mentions Flora Sandes, the only British woman to have served officially in the military and she went to Serbia as a nurse and then joined the Serbian army, eventually rising to the rank of Lieutenant.

-----, "Russia's Women Soldiers of the Great War," forthcoming. Much material from her earlier work and most useful information on the Kerensky government's 16 women's combat units involving 5000 women, including the 1<sup>st</sup> Petrograd Women's Battalion, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Moscow Women's Battalion of Death and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Kuban Women's Shock Battalion. "In fact, women soldiers were often portrayed as more enthusiastic, better disciplined, more courageous, and more self-sacrificing than their male compatriots."

Elizabeth Stone (ed.), Women and the Cuban Revolution (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1981). Fidel Castro speaks and makes the case for the participation of women in war in his essay, "The Revolution within the Revolution" finding them "Doubly



exploited, doubly humiliated” and hence highly motivated for change.

Amy Goodpaster Streve, Flying for Her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II (Washington: Potomac Books, 2009). A well-deserved paean to the women who flew during World War II. In that war 400,000 women were in the military, including many in the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP), the Women’s Flying Training Detachment (WFTD), Women Army Corps (WAC) and Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC). Particularly useful is the chapter on “Gender Issues.”

Simone and Andre Schwarz-Bart, In Praise of Black Women I: Ancient African Queens (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001). An amazingly lavishly – and lovingly – illustrated volume of many African warrior-queens, including Tiye, Queen of Egypt, the Queen of Sheba, Yennenga of the Mossi, Heleni of Ethiopia and Beatrice Kimpa Vita, the Joan of Arc of Kongo.

Anita Shreve, Stella Bain (New York: Little Brown, 2013) (F). An American woman serving as an ambulance driver in France is wounded and suffers severe shell shock but eventually recovers. Along the way this novel gives a good sense of the life at the front from a woman’s perspective, filling what was traditionally a man’s job during wartime in many cultures. Illuminating.

Judith Stiehm (ed.) It’s Our Military Too! Provides a set of interesting perspectives including “The Enemy Doesn’t Care if You’re Female,” “Duty, Honor, Country: If You’re Straight” and “Gender and Weapons.”

David Sweetman, Women Leaders in African History (London: Heinemann, 1984). Breezy and sometimes lacking in definitive sources but a good introduction to this understudied subject. Some

prominent African women leaders such as Amina of Hausaland and Nzinga of Angola stand out in both warfare and diplomacy. Written forty years ago, this work needs to be checked against more current sources, but should stimulate further research.

Steris Tepper, The Gate to Women's Country (New York: Doubleday, 1988) (F). This science fiction novel describes an ecotopia where women are in the process of breeding out the warrior strain in men. In the process, their many ironic dimensions and developments emerge.

Craig Taylor (editor and translator), Joan of Arc: La Pucelle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006). A rich mosaic of 105 primary documents covering the life and times of The Maid. Heavy focus on her various trials and contemporary letters about her. Not much on her military activities per se, however. The author concludes that her impact on the eventual outcome of the Hundred Years War was due more to the breakup of the Burgundian-English alliance than to the activities of La Pucelle, although she is given credit for offering national hope after the English were stopped at the Loire and that they could eventually be ejected from French soil.

Vicky Thomas, The Naga Queen: Ursula Graham Bower and Her Jungle Warriors, 1939-1945 (Stroud: The History Press, 2012). Carrying a stern gun and a .38 caliber pistol, Ursula Bower became the senior woman of V Force in India leading her Naga fighters against the Japanese. She appealed to General William Slim for equipment before the battle of Imphal when the Imphal plain was "crawling with Japanese" and became a legend.

Helen Thorpe, Soldier Girls (New York: Scribner's, 2014). This account follows three young women who join the Indiana National Guard and serve in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Their deployments

are of note, but so too are their re-entries into American society. I was struck at how their reasons for entering the military paralleled so closely those of men.

Sharon Tiffany, The Wild Woman (Cambridge: Shenkman Publishing, 1985). Why can't women be warriors without being considered "wild" is the central question of this work. It is a somewhat challenging book to read and understand, but a rewarding one. Let it provoke your thinking.

Bonnie Tsui, She Went to the Field: Women Warriors of the Civil War (Guilford: TwoDots, 2003). A highly readable account of some of the most famous (and some unknown) women who fought as men in the American Civil War: Jennie Hodgens, Sarah Wakeman, Loretta Velasquez, Sarah Edmonds and Francis Clayton.

Stephen Turnbull, Samurai Women 1184-1877 (Oxford: Osprey, 2010). A highly interesting set of revelations about the extent to which women warriors were an integral part of the samurai tradition up until 1877. Well-illustrated and often excitingly presented.

Karen Gottschang Turner and Phan Thanh Hao, Even the Women Must Fight: Memories of War from North Vietnam (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1998). The Vietnam wars against the French and the Americans and South Vietnamese through the eyes of the women who served in the North Vietnamese armed forces. Ironically, many women would end up suffering just as their male counterparts have throughout history. "The Return of the Warrior" is never truly easy, whether the warrior is female or male.

Stephanie Urdang, Fighting Two Colonialisms: Women in Guinea-Bissau (London: Monthly Review Press, 1979). Believes that

women are “an explicit and integral part of the overall revolution” there but in addition to fighting the Portuguese colonialism they also need to struggle against traditional male-dominated social, economic, sexual and political domination. Believes attitudes would change faster if more women carried guns and were more deeply entrenched in the cadre class.

Christine B. Verzar, “Picturing Matilda of Canossa: Medieval Strategies of Representation,” Robert A. Maxwell (ed.), Representing History 900-1300: Art Music, History (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), pp. 73-92. Well-illustrated, this chapter provides a look at the many dimensions to this extraordinary woman, only one of two ever to have a sepulchral monument for her in St. Peters. Features her centrality to the Investiture Crisis and shows, as in our class slide, her receiving the Book of Prayers and Meditations from Bishop Anselm of Canterbury on his way back from Rome.

Barbara Victor, Army of Roses: Inside the World of Palestinian Women Suicide Bombers (New York: Robinson Publishing, 2004). Traces the lives of 5 women caught up in the Intifada and concludes that they are driven by “terrible despair” and are more victims than warriors.

Martin von Creveld, “The Great Illusion: Women in the Military,” The Journal of International Studies, Vol. 29, No. 02 (2000), pp. 429-442. Von Creveld is not a big fan of women in combat, nor even in the military, and he minces no words about his views. Using the example of the Israeli Defense Force and other combat formations, he makes a strong case against the use of women in war. Agree or disagree, he is one of the military historians who commands a broad audience on this highly freighted subject, so his arguments need to be considered. And he has observed women in action in a number of important contexts.

-----, Men, Women and War (London: Cassell, 2001). The most holistic anti-women in war volume I have come across and it marshals effectively the many arguments against women in war. But, and this is strange and disturbing, he seems never to have read ANY of the books and articles used in this class, undercutting many of his arguments. Strange, for although he wants to save women from “The Maw of Mars,” he doesn’t allow them the right to choose their destiny.

Jeanmore Vickers, Women and War (London: Zed Publishers, 1993). More interested in seeing women out of war than in doing well in war, the author does provide some accents on “Women in Action,” “The Impact of War on Women” and “Moving Toward a Non-Violent World.”

Jocelyn Viterna, Women in War (London: Oxford University Press, 2013). Based on over 200 interviews with El Salvadorian women, the author looks at “Gender, Violence and the Micro-Processes of Mobilization” to conclude it’s not easy being a female in a wartime situation. This work is very interested in the gender truths which 12 years of war threw up.

William Vollmann, The Ice-Shire (New York: Viking, 1990). A curious blend of the sagas and travelogue to real places and dream-scapes along the Viking trail to Greenland and Vineland. See especially, “Freydis Eiriksdottir or How the Frost Came to Vineland the Good,” pp. 129-340. As the pregnant Freydis confronts the Skraelings, she shouts “Oh, you’d like me to take my shirt off, would you? I’ll show you, you savage thralls, you Hell meat.” “Sharpening” her sword on her breast, she attacks and the Skraelings flee but the Vikings decide the future is not on their side.

U.S. Marine Corps, “Women in Combat? Insights Worth Repeating,” Marine Corps Gazette (November 1997), p. 73. Are the demands of the Marine Corps different from other services? Strong arguments against women in combat, at least for the type the Marines practice. Very challenging are the words and views of (now) Bowdoin’s own Government Professor, Jean Yarbrough.

Loreta Velasquez, The Woman in Battle: A Narrative of the Exploits, Adventures, and Travels of Madame Loreta Janeta Velazquez, Otherwise Known as Lieutenant Harry T. Buford, Confederate States Army (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004, reprint of 1872 edition). An amazing memoir despite some questionable assertions by the author. For example, did she really meet Abraham Lincoln when she was a spy? Could she really have shot U.S. Grant at Shiloh? But she did enlist to fight for the Confederacy, bringing her own horse and her own slave to various units, and she saw action at First Bull Run, Ft. Donaldson and Shiloh, joining various regiments as an officer and also serving as a spy, declaring “There was not a man in the Confederacy who was more willing to fight to the last than I was...”

Marguerite Waller and Jennifer Rycenga (eds.), Frontline Feminism: Women, War and Resistance (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000). A wide ranging collection covering ethnic and gender violence, militarism and sexuality, feminist resistance to war as well as soldier and state considerations and the exploration of women in and by war.

William Ware, Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1838) (F). An historical romance celebrating the life and times of Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra and her eventual defeat in the Third Century CE at the hands of the Emperor Aurelian, who laid siege to Palmyra and eventually captured her. Very praiseful of

her, “Julius Caesar himself, Piso, never displayed a better genius than this woman.”

Jack Weatherford, The Secret History of the Mongol Queens (New York: Broadway Books, 2010). Surprising assertions about the strategic and military roles played by the daughters of Genghis Kahn and the bold assertion “Without Genghis Khan’s daughters, there would have been no Mongol Empire.” Interesting account of Manduhai Khatun the Wise (c1449-1510) who reunited the Mongols after the empire had fallen into warring factions. The author suggests that since the Mongols were illiterate, the Muslim, Christian and Chinese chroniclers edited out the activities of these powerful women.

Batya Weinbawn, Islands of Women and Amazons: Representation and Reality (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999). Sees the Amazonian legends everywhere from Homeric tales through the medieval period, also China, India, Native American and Pacific Islanders as well as popular culture up through and including “leisure primitivism.”

Graham Webster, Boudica: The British Revolt Against Rome AD 60 (Lanham: Roman and Littlefield, 1978). Puts the revolt of the Iceni on a par with the Jewish Revolt of 70 AD as being sparked by both religion and terror. Admits that the bravery of Boudica and the Iceni was undercut by their lack of discipline and their continuing reliance on outmoded chariot warfare and poor weapons. Good map on page 92 of Roman forts of the era – there were quite a few. Not much about Boudica or her military prowess per se, but the work is heavily grounded in archeological finds of coins, pottery and other artifacts.

Judith Weingarten, The Chronicle of Zenobia: The Rebel Queen (Cambridge: Vanguard Press, 2006) (F). From Tadmor-Palmyra in

what is now Syria, Zenobia led a rebellion against the Romans from 269-272 CE. When her husband the ruler died, she took over and led her armies to victory, eventually taking over Arabia and Egypt until she, like Boudica, was defeated by the Romans who decided that allowing a rebellion to succeed was not an option. This long, somewhat fanciful novel gives the reader something of a flavor for her life and times.

Lyn Webster Wilde, On the Trail of Women Warriors: The Amazons in Myth and History (New York; St. Martin's Press, 1999). Amid some flights of fancy (their "bright, burning vital power"), the author does pin down the grave of the earliest woman warrior, found in Georgia dating from 1200 BCE and explores the shores of the Black Sea for Scythian and Hittite women warriors.

Bel Irvin Wiley, The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldiers of the Confederacy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978). An updated version of the 1943 edition which was way ahead of its time in its accent on "common folk" and "little people." "Women in the Ranks," pp. 334-335 shows, however, that previously, historians often did not look too hard for signs of real women in real combat.

-----, The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldiers of the Union (New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1951). While the author declares "Not all who wore blue were men," he really doesn't make much of an effort to find out who or what they were. He also seems genuinely perplexed about the whole concept, relying mostly on somewhat lurid press accounts of the time. Seems happy that he didn't unearth any examples from the Confederacy.

June Willenz, Women Veterans: America's Forgotten Heroines (New York: Continuum, 1983). Profiles women in the service



during World War II and looks at what happened to them afterwards.

Amrit Wilson, The Challenge Road: Women and the Eritrean Revolution (Trenton: The Red Sea Press, 1991). “Remember the women who have been martyred fighting” begins this work which contains a number of life stories of women in the struggle; see especially the chapter “Fighters,” pp. 87-110.

Rex Winsbury, Zenobia of Palmyra: History, Myth and the Neo-Classical Imagination (London: Duckworth, 2010). The 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE warrior queen of Syria was defeated by Emperor Aurelius, originally from Serbia and a superb warrior in his own right (“The Achilles of his Era”?). See especially the chapter “Arms and the Woman: Zenobia Goes to War.” Zenobia plays in the broad seam between the Persian and Roman Empires, both under duress when she staged her rebellion. Gibbon, Chaucer and a host of others made much of Zenobia, and much of that was very romanticized. In reality, Zenobia was a tough woman in a world where toughness mattered, but she and Palmyra obviously had certain limits when taking on the most powerful military actors in the western world.

James E. Wise and Scott Baron, Women: Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Conflicts (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2006). A very good collection of first-person female accounts of their service at war. Examples from the U.S. Coast Guard, Marines, Army and Army Paratroops. A very poignant appendix listing all the women wounded in these wars. The work clearly suggests that there is now a very blurred distinction between “combat” and “non-combat” with many women in transportation, supply and other areas already in “combat” due to IED’s and ambushes and urban violence against “safe areas.” “The voices of these women deserve to be heard.”

Note: 7,400 U.S. women served in Vietnam, mostly as nurses, compared with (as of February, 2008) 195,600 women who have served in Afghanistan and Iraq with 25,000 currently in war zones. Over 100 American women were killed in Afghanistan and Iraq as of 2017.

C. J. Worthington (ed.) The Woman in Battle: A Narrative of the Exploits, Adventures and Travels of Madam Loretta Janeta Velazquez, Otherwise known as Lieutenant Harry T. Buford (Hartford: T. Belknap, 1876). A woman warrior of the Confederacy tells her story of fighting, spying and operating beyond gender norms. Absorbing from beginning to end.

Bill Yenne, The White Rose of Stalingrad (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2013). Despite the misnomer (she was actually the “White Lilly of the Donbas”), Lidiya “Lilya” Litvyak was the highest scoring women ace of all time, with a total of 18 credited kills. She disappeared during her last dogfight and her remains were never found. Lilya flew her Yak-1 as a free hunter in the famous 586 Regiment.

Jane Yolen, Sea Queens: Women Pirates Around the World (Watertown: Charlesbridge, 2008). Who knew “Some of the greatest pirates ever known were women”? The author and she gives us Alfhild, Grania O’Malley, Anne Bonney, Mary Read, Rachel Wall, Mary Anne Talbot and Ching Isao from Holland, England, America and China.

Alfred F. Young, Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004). This stalwart woman joined the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment of crack light infantry as “Robert Shurtleff” and served 17 months from May 1782 to October 1783, being wounded at the Battle of Tarrytown. This work meticulously records her entire life and

points out that in August 1782, the Continental Army consisted of over 12,000 men.

Marina Yurlova, Cossack Girl (Somerville: Heliography, 1934). Sprightly written account of the Kuban Cossack Marina Yurlova who followed her father into World War I, finally got her own sword and horse, was wounded several times, and was awarded several St. George Crosses. Eventually escaped the Bolsheviks by fleeing east with the Czech Legion.

-----, Russian Farewell (London: Michael Joseph, 1936). The further adventures of our heroine as she makes Vladivostok, Japan and eventually England after meeting the Prince of Wales. Brief meeting a la Dr. Zhivago with her Czech Captain A (last seen in Omsk!) before departure from her beloved Russia.

David Zabecki, "Artemisia at Salamis," MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History (Summer 2014), pp. 38-43. A short account of the Battle of Salamis and the role of the first recorded female admiral in it. The very fact she was trusted with a portion of the entire fleet suggests great competence and her insights prior to the battle proved to be prophetic.

Yasmine Zahran, Zenobia: Between Reality and Legend (London: Stacey International, 2010). This work portrays Zenobia as a Hellenized Arab, one who ruled toward the end of Palmyra (which ran from 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE to 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE) and led her conquering armies in Arabia, Egypt (which at the time produced 1/3 of Rome's grain) and Mesopotamia. The author argues that existing Arab sources have her committing suicide rather than enduring the shame of being paraded at Aurelian's Roman victory parade. Another version has her dying on route to Rome. Two Arab versions spare her that parade.

Rafiq Zakaria, Razia Queen of India (London: Oxford University Press, 1966). Calling her “a monumental figure,” the author paints a loving, even lavish portrait of her. Illustrated and presented with a variety of poems and other sources, the work has her dying in action and concludes with the epithet “Weep not for her!”

## **Some Women Warriors Throughout Time and Space**

Here is but a small, very basic and limited sampling of some of the women warriors and leaders who seem worthy of subsequent study. Some are at least partially legendary, some are historically verifiable, but all speak to the notion of women warriors and the archetypal woman in battle.

Please help grow the list with your suggestions over the course of this semester's work. What follows here is merely a starting point.

**Aethelflaed** (870-918) Born to the House of Wessex, Aethelflaed married Aethelred of the House of Mercia. After her husband died, she ruled Mercia (the present-day English Midlands) for eight years, during which she built numerous fortresses that still survive today, and fought the Danes.

**Aisha** (A'ishah bint Ali Bakr) (613-678) One of Muhammad's 11 or 13 wives. The daughter of Abu Bakr, the first caliph, she led her forces to avenge the killing of the third caliph, Uthman, at the Battle of the Camel (also known as the Battle of Bassorah near the present city of Basra) during the First Fitna (Moslem civil war). Although she lost that battle she retired to Medina, revered by the Sunni branch of Islam but criticized by the Shia for her initial opposition to Ali the fourth caliph.

**Amage** (2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE) Sarmatian queen, who, according to Polyaeus, fought the Scythians and triumphed.

**Amina of Hausaland** (1533-1610) Amina was a Muslim warrior who ruled Zazzau, now known as Zaria and located in northern central Nigeria. There is much controversy over the facts of her

life, and so much so that her reign has become legendary. As the daughter of Queen Turunku, Amina led various military campaigns and eventually united all of the Hausaland territory. She introduced the practice to the region of constructing walled fortifications around cities, many of which still exist, and gained control of important trade routes.

**Artemisia I** (5<sup>th</sup> century BCE) This Queen of Halicarnassus lived in the Persian Empire (in what is Turkey today) and led 5 ships under Xerxes in his 480 BCE campaign against the Greeks. Xerxes claimed after the Battle of Salamis that she alone among his senior admirals and advisors was correct about the undesirability of fighting in that place at that time.

**Yaa Asantewaa of Asante** (1840-1921) She was a ruler in the Ashanti Empire, or what is modern-day Ghana. She is perhaps best known for leading the Ashanti rebellion (known as the War of the Golden Stool) against the British colonialists in 1900.

**Dona Beatriz of Kongo** (1684-1706) Also known as Beatriz Kimpa Vita, Dona Beatriz was a Catholic Kongolesse woman who claimed to be possessed by Saint Anthony. She claimed that St. Anthony wanted the Kongo (present-day Angola, Cabinda, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Republic of the Congo) to be united under one king, and she started a movement to restore the Kongo, which was split up and ruled by many warlords, to its former power and unity.

**Netiva Ben-Yehda** (1928-2011) Israeli Palmach fighter and explosives expert during the War of Independence. Saw long service in the field.

**Maria Bochkareva** (1889-1920) Joined the Russian Provisional Government's 1<sup>st</sup> Russian Women's Battalion of Death in 1917

after already serving in the Czarist armed forces. Called “The Russian Joan of Arc,” she fought for the Provisional Government and was wounded numerous times, was captured by the Bolsheviks and made it to the U.S. by way of Siberia, only to return to fight for the Whites. This time she was captured and shot.

**Boudica** (25-61) Celtic warrior queen of the Iceni tribe who defeated the Romans in 60 Britain, only to be defeated and killed by them the next year. Perhaps second only to Joan of Arc in terms of European imagery and references over the ages, including the heroine of Britannia and proto-nationalist.

**Candace of Meroe** The queens of Meroe, whose title, Kentake, is often rendered as Candace, ruled the metropolis of Meroe in the kingdom of Kush (modern day Sudan) between 284 BCE and 115 CE. These queens shared the political, and indeed military, power with the kings of the land.

**Christine de Pizan** (1365-1430) Italian Renaissance writer who became the first woman in Europe to make a career of writing, arguing for the presence of women in realms traditionally reserved for men. Her works on military matters continue to impress historians today.

**Countess Burita** (1786-1857) During the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, she led noblewomen and other women to resist the takeover of Saragossa. The French were eventually forced to use 35,000 men to overcome the city.

**Ann Dunwoody** (1953- ) U.S. 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne Division battalion commander. First female four star general in American history. Led women in battle during First Gulf War and refused to declare that women were not in combat when a female helicopter pilot was shot down in the drive to liberate Kuwait.

**Durgavati of Gondwana** (1524-1564) Hindu Warrior queen, she fought in many battles and resisted the Moguls during their invasion of India. Refusing to be captured, she committed suicide.

**Mary Edwards** (1832-1919) An assistant surgeon in the 52<sup>nd</sup> Ohio regiment during the Civil War, she was captured and later exchanged during 1864, and awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, the only woman ever to receive it.

**Eleanor of Aquitaine** (1122-1204) One of the most powerful women of the high middle ages in Western Europe, she became the Duchess of Aquitaine as a child and would go on to be the Queen consort of both France and England through her marriages to Louis VII and Henry II. As Queen consort of France, she participated in the failed second crusade, and as Queen consort of England she supported her son Henry's (later Richard I) revolt against her husband.

**Tomoe Gozen** (1157-1247) Japanese samurai described in "Tale of the Heike." Described as a "match for god or devil," she fought with her husband against the Taira clan.

**Gudit** ("Judith") (also Esato or "fire" in Amharic) (c 970) Agaw queen who, legend has it, overthrew the Axum kingdom in what is now Ethiopia and ruled for 40 years. Most likely a composite figure, she nevertheless stands as a superb archetype of the violent nemesis in female form. Violently anti-Christian, she is remembered as "Judith the Fiery One."

**Hatshepsut of Egypt** (1508-1458 BCE) The fifth pharaoh of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty of Ancient Egypt, Hatshepsut is widely considered by Egyptologists to be one of the most successful pharaohs.



**Isabella of Castile** (1451-1504) This “Warrior Queen” (Kirstin Downey), seized power, skillfully fought off many enemies and provided the will and military strategy to push the Moors out of Grenada and held the Ottoman Turks at bay as well as funding the various voyages of discovery to the New World.

**Jeanne of Montfort** (1295-1374) Also known as Joanna of Flanders, or “Jeanne La Flamme,” she was the consort Duchess of Brittany and showed her skill as a military leader defending her captured husband’s dukedom (Jeane de Montfort, Duke of Brittany) against the challenge by the House of Blois during the Breton War of Secession. Actually led her husband’s knights in battle and became famous throughout France for burning the tents and supplies of her French opponents. “Fire! Fire! Friends flee. It’s Jeanne-la-Flamme who set them! Jean-la-Flamme is the bravest on earth, truly!” Dressed and fought as a man. Unlike “La Pucelle,” she was not burned at the stake for doing so.

**Joan of Arc** (1412-1431) French woman who led an army to repel the English, winning several battles. Eventually captured by the Burgundians and turned over to the English, who famously burned her at the stake. “The Purcel” was only 17 when she got the call to act from God. Her actual fighting in the forefront of the attacking French was impressive and most unusual in that day and age.

**Queen K’abel** (ruled 672-692) Greatest queen of late classical Mayan period. She was military governor of the Wak kingdom and was called “Supreme Warrior.”

**Kahina of the Mahgreb** (7<sup>th</sup> century CE) Berber queen, religious and military leader who led indigenous resistance to Arab expansion in Northwest Africa.

**Rani Lakshmibai** (look-shmee-bye) (1834-1858) Led her Jhansi State troops against the British during the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857-1858. Called on her troops to die in battle if necessary and is regarded as one of the pioneers for Indian Independence a hundred years later.

**Lozen** (c 1840-1898) Chiricahua Apache warrior and religious leader. Together with her brother Victorio, she left their new reservation in Arizona and fought American settlers, the U.S. Army and Mexican forces in the surrounding territory including New Mexico. She also fought with Geronimo after he broke out of the San Carlos reservation in 1885. Finally captured, she was sent as a prisoner of war to the Army barracks in Alabama where she died.

**Matilda of Canossa** (1046-1115) An ally of Pope Gregory VII, in 1087 she marched with her Tuscan army on Rome to fight and oust one of the anti-popes. She later defeated the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV, when he invaded Italy. A master strategist and military leader who waged war for 40 years. “The most powerful woman of her time” declared her military biographer.

**Medb of Connacht** (Celtic for “Drunken woman”) (250 BCE-50CE) As queen of Connacht in the Ulster Cycle of Irish mythology, she was the enemy (and former wife) of Conchobar mac Nessa, king of Ulster, and is best known for starting the Táin Bó Cúailnge (“The Cattle Raid of Cooley”) to steal Ulster's prize stud bull.

**Melisende** (1105-1161) the first hereditary queen of Jerusalem (who was *Melisende Regina Sola* from 1143-1149). Offers insights into what it took to be a Christian female ruler in a sea of Moslems and predatory male Christians. “A true ruler.”

**Mmanthasatsi (Sometimes Manta Tisi or Manthatisi) of the Sotho** (1781-1835) Although the Sotho had women rulers before her, Manta Tisi's leadership during the Zulu-ignited Mfecane in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and the movement of her Horde across what is now Botswana, the Orange Free State and Lesotho, is the stuff of legend and properly so. An amazing story of an amazing woman war leader, well worth studying.

**Muganzirwazza of Buganda** (1856-1882) An influential queen mother in Buganda, she was indomitable, influential, and a fighter, as well as anti-imperialist in modern day Uganda.

**Nehanda of Zimbabwe** (1840-1898) As a spiritual medium of the Sezuro Shona people in Zimbabwe, she provided inspiration in the revolt against the British South Africa Company's colonization of Mashonaland and Matabeleland (now Zimbabwe), but was ultimately captured and executed by the British.

**Nzinga of Angola** (1583-1663) Queen of the Ndongo and Matamba Kingdoms of the Mbundu people in southwestern Africa who fought against Portuguese imperial rule. An amazing strategist and diplomat. A true warrior queen.

**Lina Odena** (1911-1936) Spanish communist activist who fought for the Republicans against the Nationalists of Franco. Killed in action at the end of the war.

**Ranavalona I of Madagascar** (1778-1861) Queen of Madagascar from 1828 to 1861. After positioning herself as queen following the death of her young husband, Radama I, Ranavalona pursued a policy of isolationism and self-sufficiency, reducing economic and political ties with European powers, repelling a French attack on the coastal town of Foulpointe, and taking vigorous measures to eradicate the small but growing Malagasy Christian movement

initiated under Radama I by members of the London Missionary Society.

**Razia Sultana** (1205-1240) Turkish (Turkistan) Muslim Sultana who was the only female ruler of the Delhi Sultanate. Like Joan of Arc, she dressed as a man and received training in combat, army governance and kingdom administration. Rode into battle on an elephant and tried to unite Hindus and Muslims during her 3-1/2 year reign. Some accounts have her dying in her last battle in 1240, others after it.

**Queen Samsi (Shamsi) of Arabia** (8<sup>th</sup> century BCE) Rebelling against the Assyrian King Tiglath Pileser III, she failed but managed to remain queen. A North Arabian example worth pursuing by students interested in this most under-studied leader.

**Deborah Sampson** (1760-1825) Fought in the American Revolutionary War in the Fourth Massachusetts regiment of the Continental Army masquerading as a man. First known woman to serve in the American army. Wounded but not identified but later fell sick and was discharged, albeit honorably.

**Tomyris of Massagetae** (6<sup>th</sup> century BCE) An amazing warrior queen who, after Cyrus the Great offered to marry her, sent her son to attack him as Cyrus moved north of the Oxus River. When her son was captured and committed suicide, she vowed, “I swear by the sun that I will quench your thirst for blood.” In 530 she defeated Cyrus in battle, found his body, cut off its head, and shoved it into a wineskin filled with blood. “I warned you that I would quench your thirst for blood,” she declared.

**Trung Trac and Trung Nhi** (c12-43 CE) These Vietnamese sisters who fought against Chinese occupation in 1<sup>st</sup> century CE rising and army and successfully repelling the invaders. Fully 1/3

of their army were women and they overwhelmed the Han occupiers' 65 posts at Tet, but later a massive Han expeditionary force destroyed the rebellion. Part of the Vietnamese 1000 year struggle against Chinese domination.

**Umm 'Umara** (7<sup>th</sup> century CE) An Arab Muslim woman who fought beside Muhammad in several key battles (such as Uhud, Khaybar and Yamma) during his rise to power. Wounded numerous times, she was highly regarded by "The Companions of the Prophet." Interesting parallel in the Kurdish peshmerga fighters of the present day. Worth investigating.

**Loreta Velasquez** (1842-1897) After her husband was killed, this woman of the South signed up as Harry T. Buford and fought at 1st Bull Run, Ball's Bluff, Ft. Donelson and Shiloh before being wounded, discovered to be a woman, and discharged, whereupon she served the Confederacy as a spy. Wrote a book entitled The Woman in Battle: A Narrative of the Exploits, Adventures, and Travels of Madame Loreta Janeta Velazquez, Otherwise Known as Lieutenant Harry T. Buford, Confederate States Army.

**Helena and Sabla Wangel of Ethiopia** (16<sup>th</sup> century) Ethiopian queens who successfully defended the kingdom of Ethiopia against its Islamic enemies.

**Zenobia (sometimes Zabbai)** (3<sup>rd</sup> century CE) Palmyra (Syrian) ruler who rebelled against the Romans and led her victorious army through Egypt, Arabia and Mesopotamia, declaring herself Queen of Egypt. Like Boudica in Britain, she was eventually captured and brought to Rome as a prisoner (although Arab sources said she committed suicide, thereby imitating Cleopatra).

Note: The above names are just a tiny fraction of the number of women warriors. There are hundreds and hundreds of others

contained in the Wikipedia files such as “Women in Ancient Warfare,” “Women in Post-Classical Warfare,” “Women in Early Modern Warfare,” etc. Sample these lists to explore eras, cultures and styles of warfare though the lives of women who waged war in them.

## **Learning Through Tough Love I**

1. **Understand that the goal of this course is to help you write, speak, read, and think more clearly.**

Initial grades on papers and other work are less important than where you end up at the end of the course in terms of improving your skills. Put in the time and earn the reward.

2. **Hard work throughout the course will better prepare you for the rest of your stay at Bowdoin and beyond.**

3. **Look at this course as an opportunity to develop your writing, oral, research, and study skills.**

4. **Grades are only one way of measuring your progress,** though they are an important indicator that you are improving.

5. **Always remember in this course and others: “An opportunity is not a punishment.”**

## **Learning Through Tough Love II**

This course will feature lots of spontaneity, flexibility, individual exploration and expression, a spirit of play and the sheer joy of Taoism from time to time. **HOWEVER**, when it comes to term paper and footnote forms, there will be a firm accent on following specific, even rigid, directions. Whatever you have been taught previously, this is a valuable skill to be learned or relearned.

### **Term Papers**

The group presentations are to be accompanied by a 12- to 15-page paper (including the bibliographical essay) due on the last day of class by 5 pm. That paper should describe what your report was about and what sources you used, which you found useful and which you found wanting.

The “bibliographical essay” portion of your paper should run between three and four pages of the total report. The bibliographical essay will feature your evaluation of the sources used, how helpful they were, what were their strengths and limitations, etc.

Note: There are many different citation styles, all of which please “someone” (i.e. your high school English teacher, a natural scientist, a professor in sociology, a librarian, etc.).



**However**, “someone” is not conducting this course. Therefore, only use the style of **this syllabus** or that of any of my books, all of which are in the Bowdoin library, to cite the footnotes and bibliographical material in your research papers.

**No other style will be accepted in “The Daughters of Mars: Women at War” seminar.**

It is the responsibility of each student AND team to do this exercise properly. Please do not come to the professor asking to use any other style.

Also, any paper turned in without being properly stapled will be rejected, so no paper clips of any type or plastic sheeting, which often falls apart, will be allowed. All page numbers are to be placed in the upper right corner of the page. Papers without proper pagination will be not accepted. Use only Arabic numbers for footnotes, not Roman numerals. Papers with Roman numerals will not be accepted.

All group papers are due the last day of classes, and are to be delivered either to my office (left in trays outside it if I am not there for some reason) or that of the Government Department by 5 pm. Two copies of the combined report and bibliographical essay should be turned in **at the appropriate time in the appropriate place in the appropriate format.**

**Do not ask for an extension, for none will be granted.**

ALL late papers will be docked 10 points per day for tardiness.

## One Word More

Remember, the whole purpose of this course is to help you – and you personally – to learn how to communicate better, with the written word, the spoken word and the “under the gun” exam word.

DO NOT WORRY ABOUT WHERE YOU START skill-wise in the course. Focus on how you will end the course in terms of your writing, speaking and analyzing skills.

We all learn at different paces and pick up different skills in different ways. Focus on where you want to be at the end of the course and everything will fall into place. Consider this the course which will prepare you for the rest of your career at Bowdoin and beyond.

A **rough** guide to determining your progress:

Class participation	20%
Hour Exam #1	20%
Presentation	20%
Research Paper	20%
Hour Exam #2	20%

**Please note, however, that these are merely suggested guidelines. We are looking for improvement over time, not a strict average. Always go for improvement.**

**Above all, do not put limits on yourself and your  
upside potential.**

**Not in this course, not in other courses at  
Bowdoin, and not in life.**

**Remember, you remake yourself every day.**



“La Pucelle”

Frank Craig

Musee d'Orsay, Paris